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11 March 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1856



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

KOSOVO-ALBANIA SPORTS AGREEMENT--The protocol on collaboration in the field of physical culture and sports with the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo for 1981 was signed in Prishtina. The protocol was signed by the chairman of Physical Culture and Sports Committee of the PSR of Albania Mehdi Bushati and by the chairman of the Physical Culture League of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosovo, Sefedin Batalli. The chairman of the Physical Culture and Sports Committee Mehdi Bushati was received by the provincial secretary for education, science and culture, Dr Ymer Jaka. Present was also the adviser of the Embassy of the PSR of Albania in Belgrade, Mustafa Kadiu. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 10 Feb 81]

CSO: 2020

ROLE OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS IN COMBATTING SOCIAL ILLS

Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 24 Dec 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us Further Raise the Role of the Youth Organizations in Dealing With Social Problems"]

[Text] The further deepening of the socialist revolution requires also the further increase of the active role of the youth and of its fighting organization, the Union of Working Youth, in all the fields of endeavor and of social activity. The struggle against alien manifestations in the social field, against both liberal and conservative manifestations, is a component part of the class struggle which is waged in our country. This is long and uninterrupted struggle between the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our party, which is a ruling ideology, and the remnants and the pressure of the foreign bourgeois-revisionist ideology. This struggle, the party reminds us, must be carried out continuously, without interruption and not through campaigns, because any weakening of our work and struggle results in the regeneration and in the appearance, in the most varied forms of alien manifestations which harm our work and our continuous march forward.

In the healthy revolutionary situation and atmosphere which characterizes the entire life of our people and youth, there are some discordant alien manifestations which become apparent from time to time in the attitude toward work and property, education, remnants of old customs, religious beliefs and so forth. As a whole, these problems are also discussed, but more time must be found in the life and activity of the youth organizations concerning relations between young males and females, relations in the family and of our society, to the happiness of our people, to the entire unceasing march of our victorious revolution.

Our youth is characterized by honesty, sincere love of mutual comradeship, by purity in their relations with each other, characteristics which are preserved, strengthened and developed daily, because the youth is educated in the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with the norms of proletarian morality, with the progressive traditions of our people. Healthy concepts have been created in our youth regarding the family, regarding the motives which must lead them toward engagement and marriage. However, relations of love and marriage, which constitute a great event in the life of man, are connected to many good and bad habits; there exist and are expressed, here and there, mistaken, backward, conservative ideas, according to which love is considered something shameful, forbidden, immoral and so forth. At the same time, bourgeois, idealist, liberal or frivolous attitudes crop up in regard to the question of love and marriage. Here and there, engagements planned by third parties take place, regardless

of the "new" principles and labels which they apply to them. There are young males and females, who for the sake of the patriarchal authority of the family take for a wife or husband someone who is offered them, without first getting to know her or him. But there are also cases when, because of gossips, young people who are planning to get engaged do not do so, and there are some cases of divorce which result because of hasty engagements or marriages, where the parties do not know each other well enough or are driven simply by personal interests, comfort and so forth. The youth organizations must not remain indifferent toward these type of manifestations which are alien to our socialist order. There are youth organizations which maintain such an attitude also in cases when they are aware of the problems. Therefore they must expand the work to dismantle everything outdated and alien, improve their work to affirm everywhere progressive innovation, to support powerfully those youths who act according to proletarian norms, to act in such a way that relations in this field conform better to the state of our socialist development, at the center of which is our new man.

The family plays a great and irreplaceable role in this matter because it is the hearth where the young male or female acquires the first education, makes the first acquaintance with life. Therefore, the family must know how to prepare the children for life, to educate them to be brave and ready for everything called for by the general interest, and it should not happen as it has in some cases, when family itself becomes an obstacle and awaits the initiative of the youth when they get ready to make important decisions in life. The positive traditions which our family inherits during the era of the party, have been further elevated and have been clothed with a new, socialist content. There is no problem of our life in which the family cannot give its mature help. Nevertheless, the family is not entirely free of alien manifestations of the past, and of the pressure of bourgeois-revisionist ideology. Some families, because of patriarchal and conservative mentalities, do not involve girls in discussions, allegedly because they are immature, must not act without the consent of the family. The youth organizations must strengthen their activity regarding these questions too.

The struggle of the youth organization must aim to raise the personality of the youths themselves in the family, so that they can act intelligently and maturely under all situations, and especially when it has to do with the solving of the process of life. They must fight to convince the parents about these problems, in order to eliminate every manifestation of arbitrariness, and to secure their help, regarding marriages and other social problems. This, however, is achieved when these problems are more broadly treated, and fruitful discussions are carried out regarding these problems, and when concrete actions are taken by the youth organization.

Of course, these and other issues cannot be solved immediately, because they are connected to a series of factors which must be proven and must be taken into consideration in the entire activity of the youth organization. But in the work and its activity for solving social problems, and all other problems, the youth organization, under the party leadership, must better cooperate with the women's organization, the Democratic Front and the trade unions, as well as with the family, because for these problems each one has its work front and concrete tasks which derive from the same objectives. In the activity of youth organizations, the discussion of social problems must occupy a greater place because these problems pertain to the sphere and age of the youth.

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

OIL WORKERS' COMMEMORATION--A solemn meeting was organized on 11 February on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the oil workers' general strike in Stalin City, as it is called today. Taking part were former participants in the strike, war veterans, workers, youth and others. Also taking part were Rita Marko, Politburo member and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Albania, and party cadres of Berat District and the Stalin City region. The chairman of the Council of Trade Unions for the region spoke on this occasion. Other activities took place. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Feb 81]

CSO: 2100

CPCZ LEADERS SPEAK TO DISTRICT CONFERENCES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 81 pp 1, 2, 3

[Unsigned reports on district conferences: "Meaningful and Responsible Proceedings at the Conferences of Delegates"]

[Excerpts] Presov

The report on the activity of the okres party organization in Presov established that the report period was characterized by the active work of the Communists and party organizations, and by their creative struggle for the successful fulfillment of the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Comrade Vasil Bilak, a Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, also spoke in the extensive debate. He thanked the Presov Communists and other workers for their good work. He also called attention to the fact that our coming tasks would require more creative effort, better political and educational work, improvement of the quality of management, and a high degree of responsibility and discipline at every workplace.

Comrade Vasil Bilak said that the further successful development of our economy was unimaginable without the more effective application of science and technology, without consistent intensification of economic integration with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

He then spoke about the international situation, particularly about the situation in Europe and the dangerous policies of the United States. He emphasized that it was not possible to negotiate from a position of power with the Soviet Union, the guarantor of social progress and peace. No imperialist attacks aimed at weakening the Soviet Union, at weakening and destabilizing the socialist community, could succeed. Also the Polish working class would finally understand that those who were usurping the right to speak in its name were actually advocates of reaction. No one other than the Polish United Workers Party, the Communists, could ever be the real representatives of the Polish workers.

The principled peace policy of the Soviet Union, the closed ranks of the socialist community, and the gaining international communist and national liberation movements were guarantees that the process of detente would continue. Comrade Vasil Bilak expressed his conviction that our party and people were contributing, by their selfless work, toward the successful struggle for peace and social progress in the world.

Kosice Suburbs

Evaluation of the attained results and critical assessment of the reserves were the characteristic features of the proceedings of the Communists in Kosice Suburbs Okres.

In his contribution to the debate, Comrade Peter Colotka, a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, expressed appreciation to the Communists in the okres for the work they performed, as a result of which they were able to report further successes. In various areas, however, there were problems and shortcomings that had to be critically evaluated, and ways of resolving them had to be found. Comrade Colotka praised the results in industry, construction and particularly in agriculture that ranks the highest in the kraj. He called attention to the high growth rate in farm production, which in the past period was double the growth rate of Slovak agriculture. But at the same time it was necessary to think about the utilization of reserves and the quality of management at individual enterprises.

The plans to increase the output of bulk fodder and corn, and to better utilize meadows and pastures, were pointing in the right direction. Of no less importance for industrialized Kosice was the active approach to the problems of supplying the population with vegetables, fruit and livestock products.

Concluding his speech, Comrade Colotka emphasized the importance of dedicated party work, of actively influencing the awareness of the people, and of strengthening the party's ties with the workers.

City of Plzen

Primarily the securing of "the realization of an extensive program to build equipment for the nuclear power industry"--one of the specific tasks set by the 15th party congress--was in the forefront of attention at the municipal conference in Plzen.

Comrade Karel Hoffmann, a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, also spoke in the debate, about certain timely problems of the further development of Plzen, which provides an entire third of the industrial output in West Bohemia Kraj. He emphasized that the importance of the Plzen plants, particularly of the Skoda Works, in the national economic plans of the republic, and also in the international socialist division of labor, would rise further under the new five-year period. He praised the exemplary work initiative of the Plzen workers, reflected in the pledges

announced recently to mark the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 26th CPSU Congress. He pointed out that the economy, together with education, was now the main sphere in which the further prospects of our society would be decided. The further development of socialist competition and the use of creative work initiative occupied an important place in these efforts. Herein lay the still timely and responsible mission of the trade-union organizations, of the Communists working in the trade unions.

Comrade Karel Hoffmann went on to emphasize that care for the social and age structure of the party, and for its ideological growth, was a constant task for the entire party. He mentioned that 40 percent of the party members were admitted during the past 10 years. In this context he pointed out the need of turning to the "Lessons" document as a constantly valid source of the party's ideological and action unity, a prerequisite for the successful development of the party's ideological work.

Most

Most Okres supplies primarily coal and chemicals for our economy. Therefore the okres conference devoted close attention to mining, and to the intensification of chemical operations.

In his speech Comrade Vaclav Hula, a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, praised the work of the miners and chemical workers who, under difficult conditions, were striving to supply the economy with sufficient fuel and petrochemicals. Further on he concentrated attention primarily on the economic problems and tasks confronting our economy in the current five-year period, when the main increases in output must be achieved through intensification and higher efficiency. He went on to emphasize: "We must not forget the complex raw-material problems in the world and the considerable energy-intensity of our industry, where we unquestionably still have reserves to reduce consumption.

"We must consider critically and very demandingly the program for the production, redesigning and increased operational reliability of mining equipment, in order to eliminate the unfavorable impact on mining, and to alleviate the effect of the difficult geological conditions."

As Comrade Hula said later on, we cannot expect a sharp increase in petroleum resources. Therefore this raw material will be used preferentially for chemical processing. Integration with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries plays an important role in the better utilization of petroleum. The same attention must be devoted to the living environment as to coal mining and the chemical industry. Although a number of programs are being prepared, there is room for constant improvement in this field.

Ceska Lipa

The report presented to the okres conference established that the economic potential of Ceska Lipa Okres showed a pronounced rise in recent years.

Particularly the uranium industry was contributing to the development of a modern power industry base.

Comrade Alois Indra, a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, also spoke in the debate. He emphasized: "It is very appropriate that the okres conference delegates are devoting close attention to the national economy, which is the decisive battlefield for building an advanced socialist society. On it depends the rise of our standard of living, our defense, and our internationalist contribution to the development of the countries comprising the socialist community. We are devoting close attention to economic problems also because the situation has not been the best for several years. Admittedly, we may say that we have succeeded in what is the most important. Namely, in that a stagnation or recession has not occurred in our economy, that during the Sixth Five-Year Plan we achieved further growth under difficult conditions, and that personal and public consumption increased further. Some of the original targets, however, have not been fulfilled."

In this context Comrade Alois Indra emphasized the requirement of maximum efficiency, of the quality of all work, of applying faster the advances in science and technology, of utilizing fixed assets and reserves, and of reducing the consumption of materials and energy. He also said that the "Set of Measures" required the better setting of all norms, and not only of work norms.

Comrade Alois Indra also said: "The people in our country are for the most part dedicated. You can work with them if you speak their language. This is evident, for example, in the development of socialist competition, in the socialist pledges made to mark the 16th party congress and the 60th anniversary of the CPCZ's foundation. However, we must direct the people's creative initiative everywhere to the qualitative indicators, in order to achieve the highest possible gains for our society."

Prague 10

With the construction of new modern enterprises and scientific-research stations, during the past five years the 10th District of Prague became the second most industrialized part of the capital.

Comrade Antonin Kapek, a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the leading secretary of the Prague Municipal Party Committee, also spoke in the debate.

He said that today the party demanded primarily dedicated work of its members, candidates for party membership, and of all honest workers. The 140,000 Communists in Prague represented a force whose potential was not yet fully utilized. He emphasized particularly the political and social position of the working class that carried on its shoulders the bulk of the burden of the tasks for the present and the future. He assured that the

Prague Municipal Party Committee was devoting constant attention to the everyday problems of the population, particularly to comprehensive housing construction, the accelerated completion of civic and technical amenities for the settlements, to the quality of municipal mass transport, especially of surface transport, to the questions of the living environment, to supply, and to the contentment of the residents of the new settlements.

The conferees pledged to actively carry out and fulfill the demanding tasks in conjunction with the consistent securing of the "Set of Measures." The point is to achieve high efficiency and quality of all work, to further improve the organization of production, to raise overall performance, to improve our ability to export, and thereby to attain the highest possible valuation of all resources used as inputs in the production process. And last but not least, the Communists want to exert maximum effort to achieve prompt practical application of all the latest advances in science and technology, of comprehensive socialist work rationalization and innovation proposals.

Prague 6

The 6th District of Prague is characterized by the largest concentration of engineering institutes, research institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, and certain important industrial plants. At their conference, the Communists of this district reported their successful results, but at the same time they did not conceal the persisting shortcomings in production and in ideological and political work.

Comrade Josef Kempny, a member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, also spoke in the debate. He noted that the point was to mutually learn and benefit from experience, and to agree on how to master the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan that would follow from the conclusions adopted by the 16th CPCZ Congress. He reminded the conference that even though the external economic conditions were causing considerable problems for us, the principal cause of the difficulties were our domestic shortcomings, as discussed at the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

He emphasized that a turnaround in the economy's intensification, based on the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, was a prerequisite for further successful growth. Also in this respect we had to develop the struggle for the utilization of all reserves and progressive opportunities in science and technology, and for upgrading production.

Among other things, Comrade Josef Kempny had high praise for the pledges made by the research institutes and higher educational institutions, in the drive to combine science with production, as announced by the Prague Municipal Party Committee. He illustrated this on the example of the joint socialist pledge made by the Laboratory Instruments Enterprise (podnik Laboratorni Pstroje) and the scientific-research stations of the

6th District. On the basis of this socialist pledge, for example, a set of instruments for highly effective liquid chromatography was tested, a microprocessor-equipped data-processing integrator was designed, and the prototype of a modern polarographic analyzer was tested. He praised also the contribution of the Czech Institute of Technology in developing semiconductor components for the so-called microelectronics project, and the pledge of this school to promote the industrial applications of lasers.

Pisek

The conference in Pisek concluded that consistent elimination of the shortcomings accompanying the generally favorable development in all areas of the economic and political life in the okres was a prerequisite for fulfilling the targets for 1981 and for the entire Seventh Five-Year Plan.

Comrade Josef Korcek, a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, was one of the speakers in the extensive debate. He praised the conference for pride in the work accomplished, without avoiding frank criticism of the shortcomings. He emphasized that specifically such an approach was needed to attain our objectives securely and without failure. He valued the fact that the predominantly positive trends in the life of the okres did not obscure a realistic view of the situation, because our objectives would not remain wishful thinking only if we recognized our shortcomings and mistakes.

Among other things, Comrade Korcek also called attention to the fact that the cause of our present shortcomings lay not only in external influences, but primarily in our approach to remedying the shortcomings, and in whether we confronted them in due time. In other words, the human factor played the principal role here. He reminded the conferees that the key to the solution of the problems must therefore be sought primarily in the people, and that for the Communists there followed from this the requirement of a purposeful political approach to education and to the fulfillment of the economic tasks.

Komarno

The okres CPSL conference in Komarno took place in a creative atmosphere, in a spirit of demanding criticism and of the Communists' efforts to create the best possible conditions for securing the challenging tasks of the coming period.

In the debate Comrade Jozef Lenart, a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, praised the results achieved by the Communists and workers of the entire okres, particularly their active approach to securing the present challenging tasks. He reminded the conferees of Slovakia's increasing contribution to the Czechoslovak economy's development. Slovakia's share in the increase of output statewide under the Sixth Five-Year Plan was about 36 percent in industry, 42 percent in construction, and over 36 percent in agriculture.

Comrade Josef Lenart said: "It is encouraging to note that specifically during the past ten years--under the new party leadership headed by Comrade Gustav Husak--significant progress was made in improving the economy of the region where Hungarian fellow citizens are living, in overcoming the lag in comparison with the other regions of our republic. Furthermore, the industrial technical base is growing here, particularly such modern branches as the engineering, electrical engineering and metalworking industries, and a number of modern food-industry plants have been built--meat-processing combines, dairies, and sugar factories--that rank among the most important ones in Slovakia.

"This industrial equipment base is providing new job opportunities, the ranks of skilled workers are rapidly increasing, and the working class has become the largest class within the population structure. An efficient intelligentsia also is increasing, one that has the will to achieve something.

"All this entitles us to say that south Slovakia emerged long ago from its backwardness, that it is an equal part of our state, and that it is contributing increasingly toward the prosperity of Slovakia and of our entire socialist fatherland."

The adopted resolution provides instructions on how to multiply the present results in the coming period, and on how to apply more flexibly in practice the advances in scientific and technological progress, under the conditions of implementing the "Set of Measures."

Senica

The report submitted to the okres CPSS conference in Senica evaluated the results that the okres achieved during the Sixth Five-Year Plan when industrial output increased by nearly 37 percent; and the gross farm output, by 18.5 percent.

Comrade Miloslav Hruskovic, a candidate member of the CPSS Central Committee Presidium, was one of the speakers in the debate. He spoke about the basic objectives of the party's economic and social policy during the past five years, and about the further prospects of the economy's development. In conjunction with the practical implementation of the "Set of Measures," he said: "These problems can be overcome only by people thoroughly convinced about the scientific validity, justice and humaneness of the socialist system, by people immensely proud of what has already been achieved in the construction of socialism, and of what will be realized in its future construction, for the benefit of mankind. In other words, by people who are truly architects and builders of their own future."

Benasov

Predominantly the questions of party work in agriculture and industry were in the forefront of the attention of the delegates to the okres party conference in Benasov.

Comrade Milan Jakeš, a candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, was one of the speakers in the extensive debate in which delegates from all work areas participated. In his speech Comrade Milan Jakeš illustrated on specific examples from Benešov Okres the opportunities to further improve work for the realization of the party's economic policy. He emphasized that the main task was to achieve at every plant and every workplace a situation where more products of good quality were produced at lower cost. It would depend on how we were able to utilize the entrusted fixed assets and the available working time, and to raise productivity and lower costs. He emphasized that on this would depend the further development of the population's living standard. He cited examples of lengthy capital construction such as the Benešov dairy, etc. He placed strong emphasis on raising the shift index.

Comrade Jakeš analyzed in detail the problems in conjunction with the further development of the agriculture and food-industry complex in the okres. He praised the efforts of the party organs and organizations, and of all farmers, but he also noted that one could not be satisfied with the present results. In a number of areas within farm production the okres was lagging behind the average for the entire kraj. This applied to the average grain and potato yields. The output of hay from meadows was the lowest in the entire republic. The Communists could no longer watch idly the mismanagement of the soil fund. The party organizations had to monitor more consistently the fulfillment of the decisive tasks in crop production and livestock production.

Hradec Kralové

The proceedings of the Communists in Hradec Kralové Okres reflected that which is essential to the party's work and our entire society's development under the demanding conditions of the Seventh Five-Year Plan: within the okres party organs and organizations, an understanding of the purpose and urgency of the conclusions adopted by the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

One of the speakers in the debate on these [economic] questions was Comrade Mikuláš Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He established: "The content and spirit of the conference convincingly express that which is essential to unifying the efforts of the entire party, and to what was so clearly expressed at this year's annual membership meetings: the Communists' determination to continue more emphatically along the begun road toward building an advanced socialist society, to intensify the struggle for implementing the party's orientation on raising the efficiency and improving the quality of all work."

Comrade Beno emphasized that the principal direction of the Communists' political struggle must be understood as the unity of influence on the economic, ideological, and political organizational fronts, and that all party organizations must start out in their actions from the indisputable and

proven fact that the economy and education were the main spheres of their activity.

He praised the conference for devoting close attention to the problems of party work and party life, to the proper implementation of party policy, and to a political approach in every area.

Comrade Beno cited also specific contributions to the debate on the ability to manage, and he expounded on the ideas advanced by Antonin Demešek, a hero of socialist labor and chairman of the JZD [Unified Agricultural Co-operative] in Kralupy, and by Jaroslav Škop, chairman of the CPCZ All-Factory Committee at CKD [Českomoravská-Kolben-Danek] in Brdce Kralove. He then summed up what was essential and of primary importance in management: stepped-up targets; the formation of comprehensive conditions; meaningful and emphatic realization of the plans, including the application of moral, political and control factors. And last but not least, also the human factor--in other words, enthusiasm for the cause, and determination in preparing the fulfillment of the tasks.

Liptovsky Mikulas

The CPŠL okres conference in Liptovsky Mikulas was held in a creative atmosphere.

Comrade Jan Fojtik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, was one of the speakers in the debate. He had high praise for the work of the okres party organization and appreciated the efforts that the Communists were exerting for the fulfillment of the program adopted by the 15th CPCZ Congress. In this context he established: "We may safely say that the results of building socialism in our okres--incorporated in and symbolized by such projects as Liptovska Mara, Cierny Vah and others--convincingly prove that the sacrifices of past generations have not been in vain, that here the heritage of the revolutionary fighters is live and secure, and is being reliably protected and developed." Comrade Fojtik then devoted special attention to the problems of ideological work. He emphasized that every Communist must regard ideological education as a part of his everyday activity. "The point is to combine ideological education with moral and work education. The approach to education must be comprehensive, words must match deeds, and it is necessary to develop in the people firm convictions that determine a person's actions in all situations encountered in life." In conjunction with the further intensification of the party's leading role, and with enhancing the party's authority among the working masses, he emphasized the exceptional importance of the Communists' personal example.

Comrade Fojtik concluded as follows: "The 16th CPCZ Congress will unquestionably be one of the important milestones in the coming period. There can be no doubt that it will inspire us to new activity, and that the Czechoslovak Communists will fulfill the tasks that it sets."

EDITORIAL ON PRESENT CPCZ MEMBERSHIP RECRUITMENT

Prague RUBE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jan 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Responsibly and Consistently"]

[Text] The past years were full of struggles to implement the decisions of the 15th CPCZ Congress. Our party which has expanded its influence further in every area of our political, economic and cultural life is recognized as the moving force of our society. The 1.5 million members and candidates organized in our party at present fundamentally stepped up their activity, and the fighting power of the party organs and organizations was also raised. The party is better prepared to master the growing demands in the coming period.

The whole history of the CPCZ is proof that the success of its policies has always depended on the quality of the party's rank and file. For that reason the party carrying on its revolutionary mission has always relied only on its members who in their work proved that they had not joined the party--in the words of V. I. Lenin--in order to gain some advantages, but in the name of work dedicated to communism. The party therefore always emphasized, as it does to this day, the demand that all those who have joined the party and linked their lives and destinies with it, serve as examples in the building of our society.

This was demonstrated in a meaningful political action, the exchange of the membership cards, which continued the process of upgrading the membership bases. The unity of the party ranks was once again demonstrated at that occasion, and it confirmed that its members fully agreed with the policies of the Central Committee concerning the fulfillment of the decisions of the 15th congress, and that they are determined to fulfill their assigned tasks with honor.

Discussions on the occasion of the exchange of membership cards helped further upgrade our party's program and enhanced the activity of the communists in enforcing and implementing party policies. The fighting power of the party organs and organizations gathered momentum, the unity of the party with the people was intensified, and its authority and respect stemming from the membership in the CPCZ increased.

The further we advance on our way forward, the more complex and demanding the tasks facing us, the greater obstacles we meet there, the more urgent appears the demand to shore up systematically the party ranks with persons who deserve

recognition of basic party organizations and of the whole work teams, and who are active in production and in our public life. It is necessary not only to add to the party ranks, but also to show intensive care that the new party members gradually adopt the best characteristics of the workers' class vanguard, and that their life and work prove that they are its valuable support.

The 15th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee stressed: "It is a great honor as well as a great responsibility to be a communist. A communist is expected to fulfill his duties in an exemplary way, to be dedicated and firm in interpreting the policies of our party." The meaning of those words is so much more urgent now since more than 40 percent of the new members joined our party in the past ten years. The share of the new generation in the party surpassed in some organizations as much as 50 percent of their total membership.

This implies momentous tasks for our party organs and organizations. The main thing is to integrate our young members into the party so that they adopt the Leninist standards of the party life, mature into ideologically strong communists, and assume a creative and responsible approach to the fulfillment of our party's decisions.

Experience shows that individuals whose basic organizations show a sensitive and attentive approach toward them become particularly useful party members. Their political and professional growth and their achievement at work are judged according to highly demanding criteria; older, experienced comrades should help them in their first steps in the party and often also in their political life, and party groups, leading economists, communists in the ROR (Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement), etc. must demonstrate their interest in them. A totally invaluable method of teaching the young generation in our party involves their participation in systematic party education which cannot be replaced by any one-time teach-in.

Only if we develop comprehensive care for our young party members with individual approaches to each of them will this be reflected in the quality of our party work. This will help enhance the party's influence on their performance in the places of their work and residence. On the other hand, formal and routine approaches there may stifle the activity and discipline of the new members and may be reflected in a declining authority of the basic organization.

The 15th congress outlined vital preconditions for improving the quality of the membership base, namely, the demand that the social composition of our party ranks be in balance with the social and age structure of our society. For that reason it is of fundamental importance that more than 60 percent of the 300,000 candidates admitted over the past 5 years are workers, and that 90 percent of those comrades are men and women under 35 years of age. It is noteworthy that a certain stagnation in terms of organizing women has been successfully overcome, and that their representation has expanded particularly in sectors dominated by women.

There is no doubt that these results express good organization and political educational work of our party organs and organizations; they are proof that our party is attractive and that increasing numbers of workers are determined to link their lives and work with the life and work of the CPCZ. Nevertheless, we cannot be satisfied with the overall results, because shortcomings are still lurking behind the sum total in certain organizations.

Some organizations may have resolved the question concerning the desirable social and age composition of the newly admitted candidates. However, in general, those comrades are men and women working in auxiliary, less important sectors. This fails to conform with the demand of the 15th congress to consolidate the party's influence mainly in places determining economic productivity, efficiency and quality of the production. More attention must be devoted to the problem of stepping up numerous operations in industry, construction and transportation with the aid of communist workers. More distinctive orientation in admission of candidates from vital sectors of vegetable and animal production and large-scale facilities must be introduced in our agriculture.

Similar shortcomings are evident also when receiving candidates from the ranks of our intelligentsia. In some places many employees of the management have been admitted. However, communists lack representation in sectors shaping the destiny of the new production or introducing new technology. They are often not represented even among the foremen and trustees of the work teams. In this respect basic party organizations in the construction industry should be markedly improved. After all, the quality of their membership base does not depend on their numerical strength or on their achievement of some limits, but on the key question how and where shall we create preconditions to make it possible for our party members to engage in a real struggle for the implementation of the party's policies.

Party ranks of superior quality continue to be one of the most important objectives in the activity of our party organs and of each basic organization. Therefore, no decision that fails to correspond with this demand should be adopted at annual membership meetings or conferences.

The imperative to strive for systematic and comprehensive improvement of the quality of our membership base applies to all our basic organizations. Let us fulfill it responsibly and consistently.

9004

CHO: 2400

'RUDE PRAVO' COMMENTS ON 262D MBFR SESSION

AU231453 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Feb 81 p 1

[CTK correspondent: 'Who Is Preventing Achievement of an Agreement; FRG Representative Addressed the Vienna Negotiations']

[Text] Vienna, 19 Feb--At the Thursday 262d meeting, the FRG delegate, Ambassador Ernst Jung, addressed the participants in the negotiations on reducing the numerical strength of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. His speech again revealed that the policy of certain NATO countries and circles, whose objective is increasing their military potential and achieving unilateral superiority over the Warsaw Pact states, has a negative impact on the talks conducted in Vienna.

What else could be expected when since 1976 the United States has increased its military contingent by 25,000 men in the area in which the reduction should take place. But despite that, the West German delegate tried to blame the socialist countries for the impasse in Vienna, in spite of their numerous proposals in which they came to meet the West more than halfway. He, so to speak traditionally, demanded "resolving the issue of numerical data," although the two sides, as it is known, exchanged in 1980 the latest official figures on the number of their troops. What does the West's proclaimed political willingness to arrive at drawing up the first reduction agreement really look like? The spokesman of the Czechoslovak delegation, Jan Chandoga, explained it at a press conference. He noted that the West continues to insist on its proposals of 20 December 1979, which, however, are in many respects--compared with the earlier convergence of mutual positions--a step back. He drew attention to the fact that the West did not submit in Vienna a single proposal for more than a year, and did not officially answer the complex far-reaching compromise initiatives of the socialist countries of the 1979-1980 period. During a confrontation of positions in this round, the West concentrated, above all, on registering a differing view. To date, it has not at all contributed to expanding the range of identical and close positions.

CSO: 2020

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECHOSLOVAK POLL ON POLAND CONDUCTED BY 'LISTY'

Rome LIST: in Czech No 6, Dec 80 pp 3-14

[Text] How do you view developments in Poland, especially the events of last summer, from here in contemporary Czechoslovakia? Can all this also have some meaning for us? Under what circumstances?

To evaluate the Polish "hot summer" from here is not easy. Our information media conceal more than they reveal, there are some things we hear from foreign broadcasts.

The Poles have evidently learned a good deal from our defeat in 1968, including the use of one of the most successful weapons in expressing dissatisfaction with the governing regime--strikes, even though these are officially banned. The events demonstrate the wise, disciplined, yet determined and uncompromising leadership of the workers. They refuse to be intimidated either by the prospect that soon they will have nothing to eat--the regime will, course, blame this not on itself but on the workers--or by the fate of the Czechoslovak regeneration process. Along with economic demands, they have called for political changes with equal emphasis. It seems that they are dealing with the rulers as with an adversary, and this quite understandably. After all, should the results of labor be claimed by those who perform the labor and own the production means, or by officials of the establishment which is leading the state to the brink of catastrophe?

I have the impression that the Poles have something we lack, above all, a history of an oppressed but unbowed nation which defended itself, regardless of the cost. We have been predominantly cautious and collaborated with rulers, using the excuse of "dire consequences" and many others. The Poles have been battling the regime for the last 30 years and those in power have been forced to retreat on a number of occasions.

I am not a religious person, but I think that the Poles in defending their right to free expression of their faith, are defending something else also, and this is reflected in the moral sensitivities of the nation.

For us, the Poland of today represents primarily encouragement. In many ways, it can also serve as example, provided we are capable of accepting it as such. Our governing hierarchy is obviously well aware of this as shown by what it tries to conceal from us--free trade unions, release of political prisoners, the right to strike, and the right to worship without interference. When our regime informs us at all, it mentions only economic demands and tries to make it appear that the only issues in Poland are merely a matter of prices and supply.

I do not believe that similar events could occur here at this time. Unlike in Poland, our difficulties are not yet serious enough to force the nation to resolutely seek their true causes. Relatively speaking, the working class here is the population stratum with the most freedom. The labor shortage affords the workers the option of ignoring what "those on top" are saying. The consumerist approach to life, which they have willingly accepted, makes them disinterested in their environment--whether someone was fired, imprisoned, or persecuted simply for his beliefs. They are not concerned that, as the "ruling class," they should actually govern, rather, without any great interest, the workers permit those who desire power, to retain it. I am not sure that there are any at this time among the workers here willing to strike in solidarity with their Polish counterparts.

Despite all this, and regardless of that gains the Polish workers can salvage in the long run, the Polish events represent a great breach of thus far unassailable positions. They have exposed as lies so much of the "holy dogma" that the ruling regimes, not only the one in Poland, will have to ponder whether henceforth naked military force will be enough to maintain them in power.

Age: 45 (awoman);

Education: Secondary schooling;

CPCZ Membership: Until 1970, when expelled;

Did not sign Charter 77, but is an active sympathizer.

Not long ago, I read in the RUDE PRAVO a reasonable presentation of an intelligent approach to a problem, namely, what to do with older buildings. The article clearly showed that renovation of existing buildings is much more economical than demolition of the old and construction of brand new apartment buildings. It is more economical in cost, energy, and materials. Not so very long ago, we were tearing down everything in sight and the wise decisionmakers were telling us in the same daily press that renovation is uneconomical. Ultimately, they realized that it is still cheaper to utilize what is already there and can be adapted to current needs.

The Polish events of the summer of 1980 evoked the same favorable reaction in me as the above-mentioned RUDE PRAVO article. For many years, experts prognosticated that any change for the better in the Warsaw Pact countries was impossible without radical changes in the USSR. There were mountains of convincing arguments that localized experimentation with existing political structures is doomed to failure and that we can do nothing but wait--perhaps for demolition, perhaps for Godot. Poland reminds us that the future cannot be imprisoned in the predictions of seers and political scientists, that development and events can occur unexpectedly, contrary to apparent logic. Even the unthinkable can become fact. Perhaps even a run-down edifice which had long ago been written-off, can be renovated and become habitable without the use of explosives, bulldozers, and other heavy technology.

Age: 35, former clergyman, currently laborer, signed Charter 77.

During the days when the Polish Government delegation traveled by bus to Gdansk to negotiate with the workers' strike committee, I had a call from a friend who said: "We have not seen each other in some time...and strange things are happening..." His voice was slightly excited. In the depth of his soul still an old social democrat from an old social democratic family, he nodded and kept repeating sadly: "Our working class is dead..." He could not imagine that our workers could stand up and fight as the Poles had, that they could maintain their unity for many weeks and refuse to be swayed by anything whatsoever. I too have a hard time imagining such things today. But I remember well, even though I was then only a young apprentice journalist, when in the spring of 1953 a colleague came to the editorial offices of our regional daily, with his jacket buttons torn off. This was after the currency reform, kids were using the old banknotes in their air shots. Workers demonstrated in Ostrava, but also in the Prague CKD and elsewhere, especially in Pilsen where the Border Guard had to be called in to suppress demonstrations led by workers from the Skoda plant. My family was also affected by the currency reform. It was because of it that my father argued with and lost a friend, a fellow miner whom the reform deprived of his family house and all savings. They had been going down in the mines side by side for 20 years, and also played cards together. It was the latter my father missed most.

Recently, Pavel Tigrid said in a BBC seminar on the Polish events that they should serve as an example for us. Jiri Lederer, on the other hand, argued that in the same way that our 1968 development could not serve as an example for the Poles, the reverse is also true today. He cited differences in historical experiences and quite dissimilar social and economic conditions of the two nations. I recalled how the "Polish example," used in arguments in the early seventies with our own reformers ("you see, in Poland it was the workers who led the battle"), infuriated Frantisek Kriegel. He would retort angrily: "Those people went into it because of economic desperation, what kind of an example should that be for us?"

While I naturally cannot prove it, I am personally convinced that, should there be a repetition of anything approaching the 1953 situation--or should a future price rise affect us more than the last (even then the population became restless and greatly worried the regime), the workers would break their silence. I do not, of course, know what this would gain them today. They certainly know that, for example, the Swedish or West German worker can afford to buy much more for the same amount of labor, and that he is not harrassed as much by his leaders. But human nature being what it is, we tend to compare mainly what is here at home, rather than that which lies beyond the hills. And here the worker has no reason to be envious of the majority of his fellow citizens.

At home he has the same, if not better, furniture as his district physician, and drives the same, if not better, car as his superior, the technician. And one ultimately always finds some kind of meat. In addition, in many ways our worker has more freedom than his white-collar colleagues, and certainly does not allow himself to be annoyed by the system as much as they are. In my opinion, it is precisely all this put together which led the workers, while largely sympathetic, to view the 1968 reforms with certain reservations. Some of them actually feared the reforms. When I visited my parents that spring our old neighbor and father

of my childhood friend spoke to me angrily: "That guy Sik wants to close our shafts, the miners will be without work. Is that what you favor and work for, Jana?" He argued for the maintenance of the existing system, using his good retirement pay and the high wages of his miner son-in-law to convince me. He concluded that the miners have had it so good as under Novotny!

The manner in which the Polish workers have conducted their struggle with those in power (as several times in the past) is very appealing. Nevertheless, I believe that, given the causes which led to this struggle, it is an encouraging example which, however, is not transferable to this country today. Besides, I have a feeling--but this is really another topic, that everything the Polish Government has conceded to date, and which sounds so attractive to Czechoslovak ears, is primarily a play for time. More than our workers, I think our leaders will learn from the Polish events. They will become more careful in manipulating prices, perhaps even do something to make meat and other scarce goods more readily available. And who knows, perhaps under the influence of the Polish example, our state and other delegations will henceforth, instead of one passenger per limousine, travel by bus without the screaming sirens of a police escort.

9 September 1980 - age 50, former woman journalist.

The Polish events of recent years, notably those of the last few months, have evoked my sympathies, especially the determination, unity, and discipline of the Polish workers. I will even confess to a joyful, emotional response the other side of which was unfortunately accompanied by a feeling of Czech inferiority. Nevertheless, I cannot deny certain doubts for the future. The only effective offensive and defensive weapon of the Polish workers is the strike. To the extent that I am correctly informed, however, the Polish economy is suffering from such a serious affliction that dire consequences would result from the use of this instrument. I consider the compromise between the government and the workers insincere on the part of the former. It will last only as long as the balance of internal forces is maintained. And my greatest fears concern this balance. The Polish apparatchiks may be more nationalistic than are the Czech. However, I believe that if it comes to the extreme, they too would rather risk Polish independence than the loss of their positions of power.

I consider any direct effect of the Polish events on the situation in Czechoslovakia quite out of the question. The living standard here is incomparably higher, demoralization incomparably deeper, and a genuine determination to achieve changes quite nonexistent. So long as the Polish people are able to safeguard their gains, it may in the long run represent moral support for those of us here who are dissatisfied. If those gains are lost in Poland, our own pessimism will further intensify. It is possible that our governors will pacify disaffection by popular measures, rather by postponing the unpopular ones, which will only prolong our stagnation.

The only positive effect I see is that Polish events may spur more thoughtful people here into a Czech national self-examination.

In discussing this matter with those with whom one can speak freely, I find a similar reaction to mine, i.e., sympathies accompanied by skepticism for the future.

Age: Between 40 and 50;

Education: University, specialist in natural sciences;

Employment: Corresponding to qualifications;

Was never a CPCZ member, has not signed Charter 77, but actively sympathizes to the extent possible.

The July and August events in neighboring Poland reach well beyond the otherwise virtually customary and, given the economic situation, not unexpected disturbances. It appears that this is the beginning of a process which is remarkable in its peaceful organization of the strikers and the majority of the sympathetic population, and especially in its relatively precise program for structural changes of the system through nonviolent, unarmed means.

Nevertheless, in comparison with Czechoslovakia in 1968, we see several marked differences. First, in Poland there is an authentic social movement "from below" of a massive character, and its strong socioeconomic motivation makes it possible to formulate rather clear economic and political goals, without demolishing the old and creating new ideologies. This enables both the rulers and the governed to conclude and maintain an unwritten (written in the case of Gdansk and Szczecin) agreement, according to which for the sake of mutual, i.e., Polish nation, interest of both groups, neither the ruling Soviet model of real socialism, nor Polish "international commitments" are subject to question. All elements--communists, Marxists, Catholics and dissidents, recognize that the global great-power division of the world views with displeasure any disruption of European and world realities, and that Soviet tanks have so far always been able to maintain the status quo in the Soviet colonial sphere. The presence of a real threat of intervention by "friendly forces" and ample experience, their own as well as their neighbors', obviously exert positive influence on Polish developments. While these influences cannot totally discourage efforts to change the model, these efforts are being implemented with utmost caution and with clear differentiation between substantive matters (independent trade unions, economic reforms, freedom of worship) and less substantive, but more sensitive, problems which could bring about Soviet intervention (open political plurality and institutional changes in the state system emanating from such plurality). This by no means indicates that some magic unity exists in Poland, such as that found in Czechoslovakia in the August days of 1968 (and only then). Real Polish unity is found only in the dislike of the Russians, while it is far less firm in the fear of Russian intervention. It is clear that members of the Polish power structure have a better idea of the chances of such military intervention than do the striking workers. At the same time they remember what happened to Gomulka and Moczar and realize that the use of repressive means against organized opposition is a guaranteed road to their political fall.

Thus it would seem that in the Poland of today only two certainties can be traced. First, the leadership of the PZPR has no chance of surviving politically the current process of the opposition's pressures on the one hand and the Kremlin's on the other. Second, the Soviets are determined to use any means to put Poland on the right track again, should it really stray along a wrong one.

What then are the uncertainties? Above all, the fact that Poland of 1980 is not the Poland or Hungary of 1956, nor even Czechoslovakia of 1968. The forbidden track on which it apparently wishes to travel, is not outlined in any political railroad timetable, and it is up to the Poles whether they will recognize in time and as correctly as they have till now the warning signals and switches on the line. They have a momentous historical opportunity, first because the Soviet Union of 1980 is also no longer the gendarme of Eastern Europe of 1956 (perhaps even in 1968 there would have been no invasion, had we demonstrated the will to defend ourselves militarily), secondly because both Poles and Soviets cannot fail to acknowledge that the line on which Gomulka's and Gierek's Poland traveled, led to a dead end.

The most noteworthy aspect of the new Polish development is the unheard-of instrument in the socialist world of pressure from below--a strike movement which links traditional social democratic (wage) demands with demands of a purely political character (independent unions, legalization of strikes, freedom of action for the Catholic Church, etc). Thus in Poland we see for the first time within the classical "real socialist" system an application of a combination of legal and illegal means toward gradual internal changes which, while not aiming at the demolition of the system, create in its facade--and perhaps in its foundations as well--serious fissures. The striking workers in Szczecin and Gdansk drew up 21 demands--from the "legal" (wage and price adjustments) to clearly "illegal" ones even in a law-abiding state (release of political prisoners), and the government accepted them all. Through a mammoth strike, the Poles extracted the government's promise to allow the creation of independent unions which, however, have been subject since their inception to registration by Polish courts of whose independence one can have serious doubts. Will the workers respond with another strike should the court rule against them? This can hardly continue indefinitely.

Poor supply and distribution, the difficult social situation of the workers, and the vast differences in living standard, especially in comparison with the privileged stratum of communist leaders, are, along with profound religious feelings of the majority of the population, the probable main causes of what has happened. They can also bring about a sudden and cruel end to a hopeful process, because Polish economic conditions are, without doubt, so catastrophic that the country may not be able to take many more months of strikes and growing wage demands. Herein most likely lies the weakness of both the workers' attempts to improve the general situation in the country, and efforts by the leaders show even if they had full understanding for the motives of the opposition, do not have it in their power to change the economic picture in Poland overnight. Only one solution appears to be in sight, and this could have an impact in the other socialist countries as well--Poland will have to ask the Kremlin to lower the Polish contribution to the Warsaw Pact, as the only effective way toward a temporary mobilization of resources and economic changes which would not lead merely to a further burdening of the country with foreign indebtedness. While this represents the most closely-guarded secret sphere, virtually everyone today knows that the funds which the Warsaw Pact countries are obliged to expend annually for the maintenance and expansion of the military potential, probably exceed half of the national revenue of the member countries. Relief in this area, along with economic reform, could be the answer not only for Poland, Hungary,

Czechoslovakia, etc, but ultimately also for the USSR. International disarmament conferences would suddenly cease to be propaganda charades on both sides of the ocean and could, perhaps even against the desires of the rulers, bring substantial improvement to the people of the Eastern Bloc.

The Polish road is not and will not in the near future be the road for Czechoslovakia. There is no hunger here, nor are there severe shortages, even though it is necessary to spend much time and energy scrounging for whatever one happens to need--scrounging for money through extra pledges and "unofficial" labor, scrounging for a piece of meat for Sunday dinner, or for tiles for the bathroom. Also, there is no faith here, Christian or otherwise. Those who for one reason or another do not want to or cannot live here any longer, do not seek solutions for the country but only for themselves, and leave for abroad.

In case of even partial success, Poland could perhaps broadly suggest the ways and means for improvement in Czechoslovakia. In case of disruption of the promising development through military force, the atmosphere of hopelessness and resignation already prevalent here, will only deepen. Let us hope that now at last there will be a breach in the traditional distrust of the Poles and that we will replace this tendency with recognition that they deserve our deep respect for their perseverance and civic courage which seem to have disappeared--to be lost forever in Czechoslovakia.

Age 35, formerly--and still, an attorney sympathizing with the Charter.

The strikes of the Polish workers this year have become the most important event in the so-called socialist bloc, and have been met with enormous interest here. The Polish people have for very long time (and through the most varied means, sometimes ending in tragedy) been striving to create conditions in which their government would be forced to consider seriously their most basic demands. This year they were successful and in their new unions they are building prerequisites for further dialogue, even though under predetermined limitations. Future development can go in several directions, and it is difficult to predict whether one side or the other will break off negotiations. In this, the principal responsibility lies with the Polish Government and party bodies. Skepticism about past developments in Poland leads even here to certain reservations. However, it is precisely the seriousness of the socioeconomic problems which should persuade Polish officials to try to resolve them, and this cannot be accomplished without the Polish workers and their new unions. I believe this could lead to a healthier economy in Poland which cannot, however, be expected from day to day. Right now I consider it most important to make sure that what was agreed upon between the strikers and the government be honestly implemented, and that new channels of communications be established which would make life for the Polish people more bearable.

The conditions in Poland are not comparable in their basic characteristics with the situation in Czechoslovakia. There are no preconditions here for a movement such as that initiated by the Polish shipyard workers. The Czech worker still has something to lose, which does not preclude his dissatisfaction with his position in society and in the productive process. We can expect that the new unions in Poland will rekindle interest in trade union matters even here where the workers have long been dissatisfied with the trade union organization for not

defending their rights. For now, these are merely thoughts and any action will have to await further development. We should, therefore, wish to Polish workers success in their endeavor through which they are providing considerable encouragement for us. Only time will tell what conclusions our society will draw from the Polish events. At the moment I would view with some skepticism any movement even remotely resembling the Polish pattern. Even though our society may not yet be ready for action, it should at least ponder ways and instruments which would eventually make its voice heard.

Former scientific worker, 55, CPCZ member until 1970, signed Charter 77.

Even though one cannot yet definitely predict the real consequences of this year's events in Poland, it is a fact that they represent one of the most important developments in the history of the Eastern bloc since 1956 and 1968.

The Polish workers have shown that with solidarity and action it is possible to force the rulers to make concessions. The events have also exposed the weaknesses of the political superstructure of the governing system, and shown how little ability to maneuver it has once it determines that it dare not use force.

As far as I have been able to gather from reactions of acquaintances who normally show little interest in such matters, I found considerable sympathy. However, there were also statements that the situation in Poland is somewhat different from the situation here, that our neighbors live in virtual poverty.

The influence of the Polish events on our own developments can be in two directions. First, our leadership may retreat from introducing sudden price increases, or at least it will prepare them more carefully than before. On the other hand, it is possible that, as a preventive measure, the regime will try to destroy potential centers of opposition, especially among the intelligentsia. I believe, however, that the fear in our official circles is exaggerated. It does not appear for now that our workers could follow the Polish example: first, because they still have something to lose and second, because they are much more demoralized and lack a spirit of solidarity.

A few more words on the overall situation in Poland. There has appeared an embryo of dual power centers and there is no doubt that the regime will use every means to suppress this embryo. It will be doing this mainly to protect its privileges, but also in consideration of its allies. The latter see in this potential duality of power a dangerous element of political pluralism quite unacceptable for the Eastern Bloc. If the Polish establishment is really pushed to the wall, it will itself request "fraternal aid." For now, it seems that the regime recognizes the need for concessions to gain time for a counteroffensive. Everything depends on whether the regime succeeds in breaking up and corrupting the solidarity of the workers.

Age 54, university graduate, unemployed, CPCZ member a long time ago, did not sign Charter 77, but sympathizes with it, with reservations.

This summer's events in Poland are qualitatively different from all previous attempts at reform in the countries of the Soviet bloc. They are being implemented outside the party which, for the first time in history, has been forced to negotiate

with the opposition. The movement is led by the working class, rather than by intellectuals or reform communists. A whole new workers' organization, independent of the party, has emerged, thus breaking the party's monopoly of power (even in the area of information, since the independent union will publish its legal periodical). Through the tradition of the workers' struggle against the supremacy of the party (since 1956), more valuable experiences have been accumulated and has led to the rise of new leaders who have demonstrated considerable political wisdom (notably maintenance of order and nonviolence, no flagrantly provocative political demands, recognition of the leading role of the party, realism in presenting demands, less rhetoric, more action, and consistency).

It is clear that the special features of the Polish situation have contributed to the success of the movement. In the first place is the fact that the regime failed to isolate the "opposition" from the rest of society. Many people within the system in the sphere of social sciences are participating in one manner or another (e.g., signing petitions) in the effort to change the system. Fear was successfully overcome. The intellectuals, through their work in the past and now, have contributed to this in an important way. There were no massive purges in the party, consequently, there were no large numbers of communists in the ranks of the "opposition" to influence the movement. My impression is that even the party leadership in Poland is interested in overcoming the crisis in a way which would afford it more room for a more independent policy (there are no losers in this struggle and the only winner is Poland, on this both sides agree). This is unlike the situation here, where the leadership is interested only in maintaining a status quo, i.e., its position. Another factor, of course, is the Polish tradition to fight for freedom, which for centuries has molded the national character to act in a positive way in times of national stress. Doubtless also, there is the role of the church which, despite apparent neutrality (as, for example, now), has nevertheless played an important political role. It has never succumbed to the state. Instead it has always insisted on the application and maintenance of its requirements, that is, the natural requirements of the majority of the Polish people, at least in the area of freedom of worship. This stand of the church and its representatives provided both political and psychological support to the struggle of the Polish people, even though the church did not directly participate in this struggle.

All this seems to be the main reason for a different approach by Polish workers to the resolution of both fundamental and everyday problems, as well as to the present crisis. I do not believe that the differences are merely based on virtual economic destitution. This only provided the last impulse for action. But I do not think that it is because the Polish worker has nothing to lose. In 1956, for example, the economies of Poland and Czechoslovakia were not appreciably different, yet the reactions certainly were. More serious is the fact that the Polish workers refused to be so totally corrupted. Our working class has had only one "combat" experience and that was the strike action at the time of the currency reform. All this is certainly reflected in the differences in overall political positions.

What is the lesson of all this for us? The main task, I believe, is to overcome the isolation of the "opposition" from the rest of society. We should expand the influence radius of samizdat beyond the circle of the "persecuted" and thus achieve some effect among broader strata of people.

In private conversations many people here sympathize and praise the Poles, hoping they can continue the struggle, yet basically they are not willing to do anything themselves. There are even those who complain that by having to export more food-stuffs to Poland, we will suffer. By and large, the majority here, while hoping that the Polish workers will "stick it to the rulers," find nothing to emulate in this situation. "The time has come, I finished all my work, and I am going home." Ergo, there is no need for any change. Age 32, former scientific worker, former CPCZ member (until 1970), signed Charter 77.

I consider the Polish Summer a turning point in the development of that country and the beginning of possible changes in the whole Eastern bloc.

The action of the Polish workers and their first victorious round in this struggle showed:

1. The enormous potential and real strength of the organization, the more remarkable because it emerged spontaneously, the more effective because it emanated from the ranks of the workers. Marx would certainly be happy to see a socioeconomic surge of dissatisfaction leading to mass political action, while the strikers were drawing on the thoughts and program of the Polish democratic opposition. The Polish democratic intellectuals served as a braintrust for the Gdansk strike committee.
2. The myth of the Communist Party as representative of the working class has faded. The "regeneration process" in Poland began entirely outside the party, independent of it, against the will of its leadership, and it is growing genuinely from below with the support and magnificent solidarity which the workers enjoy among the population. The Kronstadt Revolt has been successfully (for now) repeated after 60 years. Next to the party and the church, a third force has emerged in Poland--independent unions representing the majority of the working class and surely also the majority of all social components.
3. It has been shown that people cannot be deceived forever, and that promises given when the regime is in trouble cannot be broken. People are no longer willing to be content with words, they demand guarantees, and act in a manner which ensures their fulfillment. No one believes in any "good will" on the part of the party and state representatives, nor does anyone believe in the "magic power" of personnel changes alone.
4. Now, real leaders have arisen in Poland (Lech Walesa and others). Their admirable maturity, organizational talent, insight, and prudence gained them such authority that the strike movement was kept within orderly and peaceful bounds. For the first time in the history of the bloc, the party and official bodies were forced to negotiate with an internal opposition movement, they have been and continue to be forced to listen to its voice and respect its arguments. It is to be hoped that in the future the leaders of the workers will have enough influence, patience, experience, and political wisdom to overcome the crisis period which must inevitably come when the victorious euphoria ebbs and disappointment sets in when it is discovered that all ills cannot be cured in one single sweep. It is further to be hoped that the movement will be able to repel attempts by the party and state apparatus (material, political, and even administrative) to weaken the workers' unity, disrupt their links with the rest of society, prevent further

independent development, or even destroy the new organization outright. It is to be hoped that the workers will continue to be guided by their current slogan "no bread without freedom," and continue to defend and place in the forefront not only their own professional interests, but also the interests of society as a whole.

5. The example of the Gdansk and Silesian workers and miners cannot remain without effect in all strata of society, especially the intellectual, including those who are still conforming. This example will surely reach even party ranks and strengthen liberal and reformist tendencies there. The exposure of corruption and scandals (such as Szulepanski) will shake up the party apparatus which is permeated with corruption and demoralization (e.g., exposure of the Owners Club of Poland). It is a paradox that under the circumstances we must hope that the Communist Party does not disintegrate, for that certainly would be reason for attack from the outside.

Such an intervention does not seem imminent, and the Soviets are likely to allow the Poles more room to maneuver than they gave the Czechs 12 years ago. This is because they know that it would mean the end of detente, the end of SALT II, the opening of a new arms race, a total economic blockage by the West (comment by one Western publication: the USSR wants to see the rotten West keep rotting for a long time so that it can supply the Soviets with food and technology). A military and political bloc of the West and China would emerge, which would mean encirclement of the Soviet Union. Soviet intervention in Poland would also mean the end of Germany's Ostpolitik and Strauss would come to power. The Soviet Union would be isolated in the entire communist world and, finally the Poles have a long history of partisan warfare, as well as an inbred, historically-justified hatred of the Russians. Poland would not become another normalized Czechoslovakia, but rather a second, bloody Afghanistan which is not likely to be pacified soon. And even though it can often be deaf, the world does not keep silent about nations which fight the aggressor with gun in hand. The Soviet leadership will therefore most likely have to opt for the road of political pressures against Poland.

6. In Poland a kind of balance of power has emerged. The party and the government are weakened, discredited. They have not had so far, and they will not have, the strength or inclination to put down the workers' movement by force. By the same token, the workers do not under the circumstances, and given geopolitical realities, have, nor will they have, the strength to overthrow the communist government; consequently, they have set themselves no such goals (at least for now). The church maintains formal neutrality and calls for moderation, while not concealing its sympathies for the workers and their legitimate grievances and demands. Everyone is afraid of bloodshed, anarchy, and Soviet intervention.

In any event, one can speak, if not of disintegration, then certainly of disruption of the totalitarian character of the Polish regime. The status of balance of power would most likely remain the optimum deployment of forces in the future of Poland.

The Polish example can mean encouragement for the development in the other countries of the bloc. If the Polish economy improves, it can show the way to others. It will raise the self-esteem of workers, and strengthen the

resolve of dissatisfied fractions in the individual parties. It can also be a portent to the Soviets that to rely on a corrupt totalitarian apparatus totally divorced from society, can be a dangerous and uncertain bet, since something like the Polish events could happen elsewhere. "Finlandization" would then not necessarily remain the prerogative of one country only.

Age 52, former scientific worker, CPCZ member until 1970, Charter signatory.

The developments in Poland have been and continue to be carefully monitored here via foreign broadcasts, Polish television (in areas where it reaches), and Polish newspapers, such as TRYBUNA LUDU which has in recent weeks been completely sold out and often is not allowed in Czechoslovakia at all. We feel that the Polish events concern us but, despite all similarities, we are at the same time aware of the great differences between the situation there and here--obviously, the historical differences, different development in the past 25 years and, finally, different present conditions. Let us then compare--the Poles "march" and fight when necessary, or at least let no one doubt that they would fight.

Here the opposite is true. The Poles have their experiences of workers' revolts in 1956, 1970, and 1976. We have only the experience of 1968, which was in a way quite the opposite, the working class was the last to "join." The Poles have since 1976 have built links between the workers and the intelligentsia (Committee for the Defense of Workers) and are now reaping the fruits of the past decade. Charter 77 here has not been successful along these lines. The Poles have their national Catholic Church which supports the people (and vice versa), as their motto says "they are one." Nothing like that exists here. The Polish strike movement under national banners and pictures of the Pope (the Poles "have" not only the Pope, but also Brzezinski and Huskie) showed, on the one hand, great political realism on the part of both workers and intelligentsia and, on the other, sensible moderation and appropriate reaction on the part of "the party and government" in the interest of Poland. One could hardly expect anything like that here. Last, and probably most important, there is no comparison between the Polish economy and ours (material interest in change in Poland certainly predominates). The strikes were initially motivated by purely economic, social, and wage grievances which only later developed into political demands (ideology was excluded, in any event, one could say that ideology is dead in Central and Eastern Europe).

Let us compare the two economies --given the fact that Poland has twice the area and more than twice the population, per capita national revenue dropped in 1979 by 2 percent compared to 1978 (ours rose by 2.7 percent). In Poland, heavy industry is officially favored over consumer and food production; consequently, 40 percent of the national revenue goes to food subsidies. Seventy-five percent of arable land is in the hands of private farmers who lack fertilizers and fodder concentrates to raise production, in addition, state purchasing prices of agricultural products are very low. As a result, most of what the farmers produce, they use up themselves in one way or another (our collectivization is almost 100 percent, and the farmers not only live well, but make a contribution to society). On top of this, Poland exports foodstuffs to the West in order to obtain hard currency for meat (l), poultry, eggs, etc. Consequently, Poland imports on the average 5 million tons of grain annually

(we owe 'only' \$4 billion) so that this year Poland has to make debt payments of \$5.7 billion and \$1.8 billion in interest payments. Finally, Poland has the eighth highest military budget in the world (our surely 'honorable' place is unknown to me).

In closing then, the Polish worker and farmer is materially much worse off, while the intelligentsia enjoys more individual freedom than exists here. What will the Polish development mean for us? Further intensification of the differences between the individual socialist countries (in Poland, free unions with the right to strike, and increased influence of the church; in Hungary, a functioning economic reform and prosperous agriculture; in Romania, considerable independence in foreign affairs), heightened nervousness on the part of the rulers, and possible participation in "fraternal aid," if needed. The cautious Czechs (and Slovaks) who have an adequate supply of "material goods" will hardly follow the example of their Polish class brothers.

Age 42, former editor, now officer worker, expelled from the CPCZ, sympathizes with and helps Charter, but did not sign it.

The Polish popular uprising against "limited sovereignty" is not only a culmination of internal discord in the Eastern Bloc, but also the result of contradictions in this divided world. Through this penetrating action, brought about by the historically-steeped self-esteem of its working class, Poland has this summer entered a European--and perhaps world movement--in an important manner. There are all indications that the action of the working class reflects the intellectual atmosphere of the country. The character of penetrating and rational discipline whenever it was and is needed, demonstrates the high degree of national, social, and spiritual unification of the nation in whose consciousness and subconsciousness the basic forces cementing national communality, have not been destroyed. Poland has a deep natural sense of its national being. This works quietly under the surface of everyday affairs and matures according to its own laws beyond the reach of any external power, no matter what its means and instruments. The ancient truth, so incisively expressed in the notebook of Leonardo da Vinci, that "only a fool believes that a seed under the surface is idle," and the fact that the germinating seed will rise and break out, illustrates that it is impossible to suppress such a process. All that matters matures and prepares itself quietly. This is what the skeptics and "politicians" of oppressive power do not understand. Both are dogmatists who believe that total power is absolute and self-sufficient. The tree which grows from the seed stands on top of millions of tiny roots in the ground. Second by second, the seed has quietly and unobservedly worked on this masterpiece. The gardener knows and understands this, the materialist manipulator does not.

It might appear that the continuing Polish Summer increases international tensions and threatens the possibility of war. I am convinced that Poland, through its precious prudence offers quite the contrary--peaceful solutions by magnanimously offering and opening a peaceful road. It offers the possibility of a peaceful resolution of the choking Eastern knot. Politicians whom "fate" has placed at the helm of oppressive power, are confronted with a fateful question: will you be capable of embarking on the road of a socialism which is not so restrained by a "unified system of power" that it cannot breathe? They can even refer to Lenin on the renewed meaning of trade unions. The Polish workers respectfully

invite those who are still capable of it to abandon the road of power for power's sake. It is without doubt a highly difficult situation for them--weighted down by past misdeeds, fearful of having to answer for them, concerned about losing their lofty "above-the-people" perch, and especially fearful of losing their special privileges. For many, their niche in the power structure is all they have, without it they become nonentities. However, even in a hegemony, a regime is not peopled by such individuals alone. Therefore, the door which was half-opened by the continuing Polish Summer, provides encouragement and an offer of peaceful resolution of problems. Without such a sensible offer, the seeds would have to continue to grow under a hard surface and sooner or later would erupt. The ensuing unpredictable wave of violence would no longer allow for peaceful solutions.

Paradoxically, those who exert oppressive power have long been speculating on an international scale that it will be the opponent who will provide concessions for the sake of peace. They speculate with world hope to maintain peace and justified fear of the destruction of the planet. They believe that they can use force with impunity and that this will be tolerated in the name of peace.

Today's landlords and tenants in the houses of oppressive power in Poland will try tactics speculating with the lassitude of people with respect to their self-esteem. They will try to purchase lives for things. They are already trying to deceive the trusting and materially-minded by focusing attention on the economy, as if mistakes in the economy were the only cause of all problems, and as if correcting these mistakes could bring about a turn for the better. It has, however, long been known that the institutionalized and firmly implemented "priority of politics over economy," in other words, the hegemony of power, is the real and fundamental cause of throttling people's spiritual activity and thus paralyzing national life. Focusing attention on the economy by people who believe that the hegemony of power is everything, represents a conscious political fraud. It is behavior comparable to that of a criminal who poses as a physician and pumps a trusting heart patient full of blood, while assuring him of rapid recovery.

If the Eastern politicians reject the offered peaceful road, and if the Western world remains satisfied with diplomatic protest, the magnanimous Polish peace initiative will be lost. A realistic possibility still exists of averting this alternative. Poland has demonstrated once again that the people are not just a dull mass which can be easily manipulated. Poland has achieved this by drawing on its penetrating, all-unifying, national self-esteem. Age 70, university lecturer of social sciences--later stoker--former communist, signatory of Charter 77.

The Polish Summer came 12 years after our Spring which itself occurred 12 years after the Budapest Fall. And again it is the same story, one country tries to do something and the others watch to see how it comes out. Naturally, we are all excited (and I don't mean just "us"). I can tell by the formulation of the comments where people got their information, they sit by their radion, having realized that something is going on, that history has not come to a halt.

All this is important, no matter how it comes out. I particularly enjoy meeting those who, with a certain amount of condescension, listen to my prognostications and say "yes, that sounds good, nevertheless, things are here to stay for the next 50 years." We still think in habitual clichés, we refuse to accept the fact that sleeping history has a habit of suddenly waking up and presenting us with new, unexpected events. Even though unexpected, it is always only a link in a chain of social and economic changes which Eastern Europe must ultimately experience, and I mean the Soviet Union as well. It cannot be otherwise. The Poles are acting as if they wanted to confirm an old Marxist hope that the working class can demand more than merely economic improvements. They put aside ideology and simply left the official unions which, as everyone knows, did nothing for the workers. Some day perhaps somewhere in Eastern Europe everybody will resign from the party, which will leave the Central Committee without any subjects to rule over. If everything that was promised in Poland is really institutionalized, it will be the most interesting political theater ever. However, to allow a dual channel of power in our type of system seems to me somewhat absurd. We all know where this duality led in 1917. And Moscow has certainly not forgotten. But time marches inexorably on. According to the model created in 1968, the fraternal armies should have been in Poland long ago. Only, it is difficult to make this decision. Such a move would be no leisurely stroll along roads where the only problem was the absence of directional indicators. Formally, of course, there are many differences which in a scholarly discussion could favor the Poles. The party had allegedly committed no errors, which is confirmed by the fact that it is the workers who revolted. And the party has offered no constructive suggestions for conceptual reform, and that is why it is where it is--in isolation behind a barrier of no-confidence. This certainly must make it look good in Moscow. Who can hold it against the Polish establishment that it borrowed money from the West when everybody is doing it? The only thing that Moscow can hold against them is that they had allowed it to go too far, that they were too liberal, that the security apparatus had grown lazy, and that this is no way to go about anything. Our cops must certainly be wondering. What about this Walesa, why didn't you know about him? We know about everybody. We would have called him in long ago and if, after friendly chats, he did not recant, we would have given him the opportunity to ponder independent unions in a correctional institution. This will certainly be the lesson here and the training facilities of the Ministry of Interior will be teeming with new rows of apprentice cops. The Polish events will intensify the fear of necessary economic reforms which would bring higher prices, less state subsidization, and even a semblance of less centralized management. Quite simply, the insensitivity of power--now using quite unacceptable jargon--will deepen. Within the framework of existing ideology, it is no longer possible to achieve any consensus of people and government, and promises of a shining tomorrow will no longer be accepted. In Czechoslovakia, the people have decided long ago to say "the hell with the regime," as long as the regime talks to them as it does.

As we, of course, know, Poland has its peculiarities, but I believe we tend to exaggerate the materialist motivation of the Polish events. Those who should know tell us that, in comparison with our situation, the Polish problems did not appear quite so bad. Other things were involved, a decade of Gierk's rule which allowed much broader articulation of grievances and raised intellectual self-esteem in the nation, notably among workers who then showed the world something reminiscent of the old workers legends. Without doubt, the Polish church has also played a role as an integrating element, which is something of a surprise in the 20th century, and which is missing here. Our intellectual liberalism which is

widespread, nevertheless, has a narrower base than that. Our Church has in its official image not been activist and, as a result, has its own dissidents, which has never been the case in Poland.

I am curious to see how we all digest this Polish phenomenon, especially how the Soviets digest it. They, at least in their propaganda, still cling to senile dogma we knew in the 1950s--do not try to tell us that it is the workers who are doing all this, somebody must have organized it, some antisocialist forces must have participated. What they are really saying is "we know the workers, they are too stupid to demand independent unions and abolition of censorship. What difference would that make to them, they only read the sports page for the scores and to see if their number came up in the soccer pool." Thus the Soviets demonstrate how they really feel about workers. Under the circumstances, being a party propagandist must be a tough job. The new secretary, Kania, sounds like Dubcek 12 years ago, or like Smrkovsky, who said that the party must again become a mother in whom one can trust. It seems to be that this is a little late. The Poles prefer to believe the Father in Rome.

Gierek will follow the path of many party leaders before him, heart attack, criticism, oblivion. They all remind me of Faust--give me riches and power and I'll survive hell somehow. It is moral penury which is reflected in the state of the country. They preach humanism, yet act before the whole world like a pack of hungry wolves. As long as the leader is on his feet, they all fawn over him. As soon as he breaks a leg, they tear him to pieces. I heard that before the price increase, Gierek phoned all the regional secretaries and asked them how the people will react. With exceptions, they assured him that the people were totally devoted to the party and therefore would understand the need for higher prices. Obviously they thought that was what he wanted to hear. And now they are ready to tear him to pieces, especially his former flatterers. Not even Mao escaped a similar fate--a fate which awaits them all, Brezhnev, as well as Husak. Perhaps they think their case will be different, besides, it doesn't matter if, after we're dead, someone curses our name, we will not be there to hear it.

I was quite curious to see how the West would handle this Polish unpleasantness because, all else aside, for that desirable stability, it is definitely unpleasant. Just so the Poles don't threaten detente! They also have a tough job, the European statesmen and Carter, but they can probably hardly act otherwise. Sometimes I imagine that we are all packed into one building and are trying to live in a decent, orderly fashion. The place, however, is also inhabited by a ruffian bully who never cleans up, leaves a mess behind him, ignores house rules, is loud and drinks. However, he is very strong, unpredictable, and has fits of depression and rage. It is better to clean up after him, not to provoke him with criticism, fix his supper and leave it on the stove. Otherwise, he might become infuriated and break up everything, and maybe even destroy the foundations of the whole building under whose wreckage all of the tenants would perish. There is probably no other way to handle such a situation, except hope that one day he might feel some shame and become a more acceptable dinner partner. He still mumbles in that strange jargon of his, but that must be disregarded. He had a tough childhood and it is difficult to expect him to use a knife and fork at the table.

It would be wise to avoid any illusions that the situation is not that bad, that some sort of atomic cage exists in which the bully will become more docile. This

is an extremely perilous thought. For we must know that the bully couldn't care less about order in our building, that it is in no way close to his heart, and that he likes to live the way he does. It is possible, however, that if someone offered him a toothbrush and an interesting book, he might start brushing his teeth and even read the book.

The other day I saw Brandt on television discussing this subject with reporters. He didn't say it exactly as I have, but he is an intelligent and impressive fellow. And he is right when he says that a certain relative emancipation had occurred in Eastern Europe as a result of a reasonable Ostpolitik, and that even the Polish awakening is its consequence. When we come right down to it, it is not a question of who sets a trap for whom, but the question of life or death of nations. It is enough to drive one crazy each time reason encounters the wall of ideological ignorance, but that, I suppose, is the fate of reason. I am still not quite certain whether the Americans are capable of understanding all this. When I hear Reagan talk about restoring American greatness, I say to myself, damn it, what do they get out of this greatness? Just another ideology. Aren't they already big enough? I do understand that they are offended by the way they have been treated by Iran. They should, of course start thinking about why it is possible that this rich country evokes almost maniacal hatred in certain nations, and that often they provide these maniacs and demagogues with an ideal lightning rod for such orgiastic festivities of popular hatred and rage. They have it better with the Russians, who basically admire and envy the Americans. This they didn't know? They should send their politicians on some sort of schooling in Europe, because all the confrontation to which they are subjected in the world is really of European deviation and, therefore, it can only be understood from here. Age 50, journalist, presently warehouseman, expelled from the CPCZ, Charter 77 signatory, lives in Brno.

Example, possibility, method. But I am not sure it is applicable here. Probably not. Compared with Poland, our people are relatively well off. Age 41, economist.

It is encouragement which evokes hope in people. However, at the same time, people are skeptical and believe that, in the end, it will disintegrate and nothing will come of it. Then the prevalent conviction that nothing can be done, will be confirmed. On the other hand, should it succeed, people would lose that excuse that nothing can be done. One effect of the Polish events is already felt here. Great numbers of people have begun listening to the Voice of America, London, etc.

Age 37, former journalist (woman) now employed in VTEI.

In Poland, the worker's movement curtailed the excesses of the government in a manner which puts fear into our own leaders. It is also proof that united popular action can successfully oppose power, that power is not invincible. Therein lies a certain hope for us.

Age 36, attorney (woman).

The current trend toward disintegration in our economy will result in the same problems and will encounter the same barriers as in Poland. Typical in this respect is the failure of economic relationships and their replacement with personal contacts. The Polish solution of economic and social problems represents an example for our workers--and perhaps even for the intellectuals here.

Age 51, economist.

These questions reached me at a time when our household is examining for the second time, this time not hurriedly, Laderer's Book of Conversations with Friends. It might be useful to quote briefly that Hanzelka and Zikmund told him: "We do not presume to claim that a pluralist system would resolve the long-term needs of our country. Besides, a pluralist system can exist even without political parties. Various strata of society will have their influence on further development, influence commensurate with their practical participation in this development." Very similar words were spoken at one time by Andrey Sakharov. I personally wish that what they said were true, even though I am not convinced that it is. I think that it is Poland itself which can answer certain questions. Free trade unions, with other organizations which will become more independent, can create a situation which the two world travelers and the academician had on their minds--opportunity for free expression for the people in a socialist society. That, of course, still does not fulfill the criteria for democracy, but it is getting so close that a man who emphasizes both democracy and socialism, one who believes that socialism when it faces the question of freedom owes nothing to its real opponents, but only to itself, could in time feel that a change has occurred under which one could, by and large, live with dignity.

This is, of course, a highly optimistic alternative with little chance of realization. There are many other possibilities--rapid reversal under the intervention, or threat of intervention, by tanks, or a slow wearing off followed by a slow return to the old conditions, as demonstrated by Gomulka in the period 1956-70. Or, everything will be realized, and then suddenly it will become clear that freedom is indivisible, that it either exists or it doesn't. In that case freedom will vanish again.

And the influence on developments here? Many people believe that if our current state of relative impoverishment becomes absolute, something similar could occur even here. I am not quite sure, since the old saying "Poles are not Czechs" which sprang up in Poland in 1939, and was much repeated 17 years later, does have a certain validity. Much will depend on what the Poles really achieve. Our leadership has been handed a rare opportunity for which it should thank fate on its knees--avert a crisis, without strikes and other upheavals, even perhaps without formal institutional changes, by moving in the direction toward which the Poles have embarked. For this, however, they would need certain minimal values of intelligence and morality which, I am afraid, are probably missing. Consequently, it is much more likely that the regime will order registration of sewing machines to prevent manufacture of armbands to identify members of strike committees.

Age 45, office worker, never a member of the CPCZ, identifies with Charter 77.

Recent events in Poland represent a significant change in the political and economic system. Systemic changes are brought about either by evolution (which is not the Polish tradition) or by purposeful activity by people who are sufficiently motivated for it. For this reason, the question whether the events in Poland can influence developments in Czechoslovakia, is in fact a question of whether or not such motivation exists here at this time.

When someone tries to change a system it is because he is dissatisfied with it, and his dissatisfaction must reach beyond a certain point. The political and economic system has several facets with which we can or cannot be satisfied. One can, for example, be dissatisfied with the system's cultural policy, yet have no objections to the way the economy is managed, etc. Satisfaction, or rather the measure of dissatisfaction with the regime, depend in individual and social groupings on their set of values. This means that some would "forgive" the regime that it is difficult to find meat or garlic, but cannot "forgive" the fact that the regime has destroyed the nation's culture and continues to do so, that decent literature is available only in typewritten copies, etc.

Even we cannot be satisfied with the economic situation, or rather with its reflection in the market place, and it is quite easy to visualize that, given the inertia of the economic system, it will become much worse. Relatively speaking, the situation is much more serious in culture, in the area of human and civil rights and associated excesses by the police, and in the overall moral decline of society. If development similar to that in Poland should occur in Czechoslovakia, it would similarly have to be the workers who would take the lead. I believe, however, that in the above-mentioned set of values, the material level of our living standard has not yet dropped so far as to provide the motivation for action which would lead to changes in the system. Those population groups which are strongly motivated for such action because of the catastrophic situation in the other (noneconomic) features of the system, are much too well watched by the regime police.

In order to become inspired by the Polish development we need, in addition to sufficient motivation, the necessary information on the true state of affairs. According to my estimate not based on any concrete data, I am afraid that the vast majority of the population does not seek such information and is simply not interested in its environment. Therefore, I see nothing which would indicate that the current Polish efforts could "infect" Czechoslovak society as well. This makes the nervous reaction of the regime to any trace of popular interest in Poland seem even more irrational. It is paradoxical that, if we come right down to it, it is only representatives of the regime on various levels who are motivated to act (negatively) under the influence of the Polish events. Only they are well informed and know the real state of the economy with its stagnating trends. Only they can, or should, see that that without intensive and effective improvement (the "Set of Measures" may perhaps be a small step on a long road) in all spheres of the system, motives might appear sooner or later among our industrial workers to seek remedial action.

Age 48, economic researcher, never a member of the CPCZ, sympathizes with the Charter and associates with some of its signatories.

This summer's events in Poland are of great interest to us, not only because we are neighbors and because our neighbors' victory or possible defeat will have consequences here, but also because of the great similarity with 1968. Even many people who normally do not care about political matters, show great interest, expressions of agreement and hope that "they'll make it," with praise that they are doing it with intelligence, deliberation and without needless provocation of the Soviet Union. It is really surprising how prudently and diplomatically--without rhetoric and hysteria--all the representatives of the Polish progressive movement have acted. People listening to them understand, they are not calling for strong words, they do not yearn for revenge, to which they certainly would have every right.

Personally, I have great admiration for this prudence, functional internal discipline, unity, and tacit understanding between the Polish nation and its spokesmen. At the same time, I wonder whether this is precisely where we erred, and what we paid for in 1968; namely, that we voiced our opinions too loudly and too explicitly. The prudence that we see today was probably impossible in Czechoslovakia then since, unlike the workers in Poland, many of the proponents of change were people of the same "political faith" as the leadership. The progressive ones had no choice but to separate themselves from the others by strong critical statements, as well as verbal attacks on the sacred symbols of the system and thus gain the needed prestige among the people. Unlike in Poland, we had no second team of leaders previously untainted by involvement in the establishment. Had we then had at our head people like Hajdaneč, Reichert, Benda, or Havel, no one would have suspected them of complicity with the Novotny regime and they would have had no need to convince anyone by flatulent rhetoric which irritated the Soviets.

Another difference I see is that the Poles had the church and even other official organizations which were not totally conformist and which they could, and do, rely on. Czechoslovakia, as a religiously and nationally differentiated state, unfortunately does not have as good a chance to achieve unity as do the Poles. In the only thing in which we can really unite (probably including President Husak) is the aversion toward the USSR and the Red Army which has ensconced itself on our territory. And that is a slogan with which one cannot operate today in public. Before another 12 years go by and the time comes for revolt here, perhaps we will have learned from the Polish example and be better prepared, or at least as well as they were. Secretly I hope that the acceleration in time, which is typical of modern history, will apply here, and that the Poles will have contributed to it in great measure. If they succeed in keeping at least half of what they have gained so far on paper, it will be enough to bring about a brighter atmosphere throughout the Eastern bloc.

Age 43, woman biologist, normally employed, did not sign Charter 77.

The Polish events will not maintain a long-term progressive tendency. What happens in Poland is not decided by the Polish people or even the party, but by Moscow. The USSR is strong enough to have its own way in the end. Nevertheless, I believe it was time for someone to be clearly heard in the Soviet bloc, even though he was driven to it more by economic penury than anything else. Moscow will probably have a differentiated approach to Poland, a sort of Polish specificity, especially with respect to the economy, made attractive for the other

socialist states. However, it will definitely not mean basic changes, but rather a kind of internal modification of the Moscow-recognized model of socialism.

The Polish experience is not transferrable to us because the movement there is based on a different foundation than would be the case here. Nationalism plays an enormous role, the case of the Polish "August" is in fact a matter of a national liberation struggle. In our country, national sentiment is negligible. Furthermore, the Poles have strong ties to the church, which for a long while has served as a balance (unimaginable here) to the ruling party. Another contributing event is the election of Karol Wojtyla as pope, because in his person the national and Catholic forces merged in such a way that even the official power structure had to respect it.

Age 27, woman who works in the area of human sciences.

It is all very nice, but it has no chance to succeed. They'll give them something now, wait until the euphoria and momentum ebb, and then begin tightening the screw again. They will bribe officials of the new unions. Those who would not allow themselves to be corrupted will end up in jail. No one can really believe that in another year the workers will strike again because of some independent unions. The motivation of the events of today is obviously economic. It will be enough to raise the living standard a bit, and that will be the end of the strikes.

As far as we are concerned, I expect rather negative effects. The regime will get tougher in terms of harrassing people, and we will be the ones to pay for a better standard of living in Poland. To think of strikes here is pure nonsense. There is hardly a single individual in this system who has not stolen something, bribed someone, acquired something illegally, or broken some law or regulation. They have something on everyone, or they'll find it. Everyone is aware of this and therefore will take no risks. In Poland where there is nothing to eat, the situation is quite different. They have nothing more to lose.

Age 30, waiter.

I consider the events in Poland important and instructive not only for the Poles themselves, but for the other socialist countries as well. The following are my reasons:

1. Next to the state and party apparatus, police and army, i.e., the establishment which heretofore has had a monopoly position in both economic and political affairs, another political force has constituted itself (at least I hope so) representing different interests from the ruling establishment. Thus we see a polarization of political and economic forces in society, which creates room for the birth of at least minimal political life as we know it in the Western democracies.
2. The Polish August and ensuing events appear to be to be autonomous and original workers' action, i.e., pressure "from below," as opposed to our 1968 when the initiative stemmed largely "from above" from the reform communists, publicists, and writers. The activity of the ordinary people as then limited to following events in the information media, and did not consist of independent action in

defense of their own interests. For this reason I believe that the Polish "August" will resist much better the conservative elements in Poland and even the Soviet Union, than was the case with the Prague Spring. In Czechoslovakia all that was needed was to replace the initiators in official structures (party, state apparatus, information media) and ordinary people reacted only by stopping to read the papers. In Poland, they keep replacing one official after another in the power structure and fundamentally it will change nothing. If they touch the independent unions, they are faced with a strike.

Can we expect something similar here? I don't know the situation among our workers, but my subjective view is that we cannot, at least not in the near future. The decisive factor is the living standard. If our standard sinks as low as the Polish, and this is unlikely, then we can undoubtedly expect a similar reaction here.

Age 35, computer technician.

Through their strike the Polish workers stood up to the establishment, which revealed a long-hushed-up reality. On one hand there are those who have nothing but their capacity to work which they are renting out. On the other hand there is the state and party apparatus, which uncontrollably and irresponsibly disposes of the so-called state property and willfully decides how to allocate the product which it has not produced. The strike, in practical terms, revealed the old-new antagonism between monopoly owners of the means of production and those who are working for them. Marx would say there is nothing new under the sun. And yet there is. The workers' movement is not led by atheistic Marxists, but by Christian Catholics.

It is the demand for independent unions and the right to strike which are so important. For this is the expression of a visceral lack of confidence in the state political and interest institutions, in their willingness and ability to resolve the workers' problems with justice. This pits power against power. The strength of the workers is in the strike, the strength of the party oligarchy is in the political police and also in the allied armies. The result of this confrontation is a compromise which is certainly better for the workers than they would have gotten had they remained passive.

Whereas the capitalist system based on private ownership is the basis of pluralist democratic political systems, monopoly state ownership has become the foundation of totalitarian dictatorships. There are debates about who influenced more the totalitarian character of real socialism--whether it was the cultural and political backwardness of the USSR which, of course, has the decisive voice in real socialism, or whether it is the inherent character of socialism as such. The Polish events could provide some answers to this question, since they represent a step toward the destruction of the monopoly characters of a totalitarian system. In other words, they are certainly generating serious opposition not only in their own official structures, but in Moscow itself. A political force is being constituted which represents a counterbalance to the establishment. This resurrects political life which up to now had been deadened by the ruling power. This is not to say that it provides hope for the creation of a pluralist political system similar to that in the West, it is much more

likely that there will be a sort of bipolar political sphere which in its initial raw incarnation will reflect the basic divisions of the population under real socialism, i.e., the privileged oligarchy and the working plebeians.

Would something like this be possible in the CSSR? Basically, certainly yes, since Czechoslovak society is similarly divided. The antagonistic character of our society has to lead somewhere in the political arena. The question is only how long the external factors, such as colonial suppression by the USSR, ideology, political police, harassment of opponents, living standard, etc., will prevail over the internal contradictions in which our society has been tossed about, how long the external factors will be able to suppress these contradictions. There is a large body of opinion on this subject to the effect that the cited external factors, especially the pressure from the USSR, are so overwhelming that everything is lost beforehand and nothing really matters. This I reject. An individual always imagines that something brand new and under our conditions a strike would certainly be that) is hopeless. This is because the individual himself has not yet become an active participant in the attempt and therefore he cannot visualize that the situation could indeed change, that he himself could change it. This is quite natural because only practical experience (in our case a strike) will show what the situation really is. It is mainly a matter of overcoming the torpor, skepticism, and what I would call existential sourness which bind our hands. For it is becoming increasingly clear today that we simply must resist this regime. Otherwise, our life will cease to have any meaning at all.

Age 25, student of economy.

9496

CSO: 2400

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH ALGERIAN UNION--Prague, 16 Feb (CTK)--An agreement extending cooperation between the Central Council of Trade Unions of Czechoslovakia and the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA) was signed here today by Vilian Kozik, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, and Moustapha Boudin, UGTA national secretary. The agreement concerns further exchange of information on the activity of trade union organizations of the two countries, coordination of stands in international actions, as well as the exchange of official and study delegations of the trade union federations, branch unions and other trade union bodies. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1721 GMT 16 Feb 81 LD]

VISITING YEMENI POLITICIAN--M. Stepan, chairman of the International Students Union (ISU), yesterday met in Prague with A. Handani, Politbureau candidate member of the Socialist Party of Yemen Central Committee. They exchanged views on certain issues of the international youth and student movements and on the increasing tension in the area of the Arab peninsula. The Yemeni guest highly appraised the results of the 13th ISU Congress, which establish a foundation for the masses' effective joint actions against the plans of imperialism and reaction in the area. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Feb 81 p 2 AU]

DELEGATION FROM YEMEN--Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the CSRR's National Front Central Committee, met the delegation of the National Democratic Front of the Arab Republic of Yemen in Prague on 6 February to discuss the position and role of the CSRR's National Front in the Czechoslovak political system and the situation in the Middle East. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Feb 81 p 2 AU]

CHURCH, SED SEE PROBLEMS IN CATHOLIC-ATHEIST MARRIAGES

East Berlin *BEGEGNUNG* Vol 20 No 10, Oct 80 pp 8-10

[Article by Egbert Brock: "Ideological Coexistence in Marriage? Marital Problems Between Catholics and Atheists"]

[Text] What priest does not know this problem, and how many parents must hear it, a young person, raised in the Catholic faith, makes the acquaintance of a partner to whom church and faith are unknown phenomena because the partner was brought up as an atheist. What should one do? Should one advise against this relationship or even forbid it (either course would not have much chance of success, in any case), should one accept it quietly, or even advise in favor of it? These are questions which occur every day and touch equally young and old, priests and those immediately affected.

The degree to which questions of this kind influence especially the young people of our country, and demand answers, is illustrated by the fact that *JUNGE WELT*, the official newspaper of the VDJ Central Council, in its 16 July issue published a letter from a reader and an answer which deal precisely with this problem. A young man who was raised as an atheist and is willing to join the SED makes the acquaintance of a Christian girl to whom faith and church obviously have great meaning, and who is not willing to give them up. Should the two be married?

The newspaper's answer, given from the Marxist point of view, should provide food for thought for Catholic young men and women as well as adult Catholics. In this answer, we shall disregard the use of the term "strict believer" and reject the identification of Christianity with an idealistic world view and in turn ask whether Christians do not also stand up for a quick and lasting change in the world in the direction of progress, and we shall reject the statement that true partnership "presupposes decisive actions by only one of the partners"--but the aspect that has become the focal point of the matter appears to be identical with the point that the church has emphasized again and again: common world views are the most important components of a lasting and happy marriage.

The author of the *JUNGE WELT* article, Jutta Reusch-Treuwerth, emphasizes first: "I consider agreement in world view matters a truly essential condition of a happy, lasting partner relationship." A similar position is stated in two documents published by the pastoral synod of the GDR jurisdiction *bezirke*. In the document "Preparation for Marriage" (to be referred to here briefly as "Marriage Preparation") number 28 states: "Because marriage is a relationship for the entire life, it

demands agreement in many details regarding the world view and spirit which are to determine family life." The document "Accents of Christian Life in Marriage and Family" (briefly: "Marriage") says in this connection: "In a marriage between a Catholic and a non-believer agreement on religious matters and therefore an essential element of their union is missing."

Marxist and Catholic thinking therefore agree in one important point. And the reasons given in *JUNGE WELT* are likewise logical: "Common opinions and practices in the details" of family life are important. The author states emphatically that agreement policies in society and state cannot simply be applied to marital life because state and society give sufficient room to individuals to pursue consequently their interests and thoughts, whereas this is impossible in the family. And finally, the author points out correctly that the education of the children demands clarity of views because children should not be objects of "experimentation to see whether father or mother has the better arguments." And also: "Different views in the education of the children...are important points of disagreement in a marriage because partners have the tendency to perpetuate themselves in their children." The answer to the question raised in the beginning is as follows: "Simply to accept the other's point of view is not enough for a joint relationship...before long it could lead to a separate existence for either one of the partners. And this can no longer be considered the meaning of marriage." It has already been stated that the required measure of tolerance would end, in any case, in a compromise in which "one of the two partners will have to betray himself."

Before going into details on these points in the following observations, a few excerpts from the church documents mentioned above should here be quoted. The document on marriage states: "The joint experiences of life in marriage call for a union in all of the partners' life situations and experiences." (3) Furthermore: Unity of faith "is no guarantee for a harmonious marriage but it is an important precondition and, at the same time, a good basis for the religious education of the children" (5). The document emphasizes in this connection the danger of a betrayal of faith. "The Catholic partner might possibly find little understanding with his partner for the life of his faith. From this may result the dangers of a reduction in the intensity of faith and of indifference toward faith" (24), and: "Life certainly is not easy for a Catholic with a nonbelieving partner, and the danger certainly exists of indifference and even betrayal" (37). In form of a supplement, the second document (Marriage Preparation) should again be quoted here: "Christian marriage demands a spiritual life for two which can manifest itself in conversations about the faith, in joint prayer, in joint preparation for the sacraments of penance and the eucharist" (9). And finally: "Joint faith is the foundation of a Christian marriage. The synod challenges young Catholics to pay attention to their joint faith when choosing a marriage partner" (44).

These are points of comparison which make it clear that there is skepticism on both sides regarding the lasting quality and happiness of a marriage between one partner who has voluntarily accepted an atheist world view or has grown up knowing only this kind of world view, and a Catholic who wants to remain faithful to his church and live his faith. On the other hand, one does not want to say an absolute no to this kind of relationship. "It would be un-Marxist, I would say, that a difference of opinion could not either change or at least influence a [partner's] world view," says *JUNGE WELT*, and the synod comments on this point: "The marriage partners will stress the joint qualities of a marriage and will respect the partner's

decisions in questions of faith or world view. In this way, a marriage of this kind can more and more approach a comprehensive union, and can contribute to the mutual well-being of the partners" (marriage 25). So on either side there is neither an absolute no nor a positive recommendation, but rather a sober and realistic appraisal.

In trying to summarize the three legitimate objections, we find three essential facts which are to be briefly illustrated from the Catholic point of view, as follows:

1. First, there are differences in questions that deal with marriage directly. For a Catholic, marriage is not only an agreement made before civil authorities which might be canceled under certain conditions. Rather, it is a sacrament given by the two marriage partners to each other, and it remains insoluble even if a civil court should pass a judgment of divorce. At the wedding, young people certainly do not think of divorce, especially since in our socialist society a conscious effort is made to point out that both partners will walk together through beautiful and difficult stretches in their life, and that divorce is to be considered an exceptional case which is absolutely unavoidable. But we all know that, unfortunately, divorce cases are not rare. For a Catholic, a civil divorce has considerable consequences. The Catholic cannot be married in the church for a second time. He has then the choice between remaining single or starting a [second] civil marriage which the church will not recognize and which will mean exclusion from the sacraments.

There are also different opinions among Catholics and nonbelievers in regard to abortion, which remains forbidden for Catholics, and to the means and methods to prevent pregnancy; the encyclical *HUMANAE VITAE* should be called to mind at this point, even if it is still a matter of divided opinion for many theologians.

The specific form of the marriage ceremony should also be mentioned at this point. A Catholic must give his marriage consent in a church in front of a priest. This is pointed out by the joint pastoral letter on marriage of the Catholic bishops in the GDR, written in 1977. However, can this kind of ceremony be expected of somebody who throughout his life has had no connection with church or Christianity, and who does not believe in a personal God and the mission of the church?

2. Problems must also be expected in the actual form of family life. This may begin with participation in Sunday church services, may continue in the preparation and celebration of central Christian feasts such as Easter and Christmas, Lent and Advent, and may also have effects on many other areas of life such as active participation in parish life, pilgrimages or participation in discussions on religious questions. Even if the nonbelieving partner is of good will, he will find it difficult to be understanding again and again, and practice tolerance, especially if he has completely different ideas which he would like to have considered. For him, Easter is not the feast of the resurrection of the Lord and Christmas not the birth of Christ, the cross of ashes and the Easter candle remain incomprehensible symbols to him. He will have no use for processions of palms and pilgrimages.

3. The greatest difficulties, however, arise in regard to the education of the children. The *JUNGE WELT* author points this out, too. The nonbelieving partner will have no objections to having the children raised as Catholics but, disregarding the fact that this may be objectionable to him and that he may at a later time

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EAST BERLIN 'COMIC OPERA' PRODUCER REPLACED

Frankfurt/ Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Jan 81 p 10

[Article by Gerhard Koch: "The Producer"]

[Text] When Joachim Herz was last seen in an official capacity in the FRG--during the visit of the Komische Oper [Comic Opera--East Berlin opera company] to Wiesbaden for the 1980 May Festival, the formerly exuberant man looked drawn, almost wasted. Late in August the bomb exploded: the official GDR news agency, ADN, announced that Joachim Herz had been relieved as director of the Komische Oper in East Berlin effective 31 January 1981. Werner Rackwitz, GDR deputy minister of culture, replaces him as director; Harry Kupfer of the Dresden Staatsoper [State Opera], who likewise has been successful in the West, succeeds him as chief producer. In light of the not exactly abundant flow of official news from East Berlin, it is hardly possible to state unequivocally whether Herz's departure from the Komische Oper is compulsory or voluntary. The Solomonic formula "in order to attend to other artistic tasks" at least permitted the conclusion that Herz wanted to and/or was supposed to devote himself more to producing--Verdi's "Don Carlos" and Wagner's "Rienzi" at the East Berlin Deutsche Staatsoper [German State Opera].

So now Herz has offered his last production at the Komische Oper--Benjamin Britten's "Peter Grimes." Brilliantly successful as it was, one may well wonder why Herz chose this particular work for his farewell--whether he might not also have produced a secret self-portrayal or even reckoning. A misunderstood eccentric and manic-depressive loner, the fisherman Grimes is driven into isolation. Tough on himself and others, he incurs guilt and finally sails into suicide. Drawing a clear parallel would of course be absurd, but Herz for his part, if rumors are to be believed, felt restricted by bureaucracy at the Komische Oper and not appreciated as far as his aesthetic concepts were concerned. He never was forgiven his occasional criticism of a "sometimes too narrowly conceived realism" and even of the "master Felsenstein," whose student and successor (1976) he had been after all. And, in turn, Herz probably reacted at times with a touchy kind of sensitivity and rude arrogance.

Facing him in his dark little room amid the labyrinthine building on Behrenstrasse, one immediately felt him to be a man of the theater utterly wrapped up in his work. With Saxon loquaciousness, he also talked honestly about GDR bottlenecks and spoke enthusiastically about his work in the much-admired "Leipzig Ring" [Wagner's "Ring der Nibelungen"] and new plans of his. Of course, he would also have liked to produce Wagner at the Komische Oper, but the state was too small and, of all things, in "Tristan," the work that it just might be possible to stage there--which

he had just played through again at the piano--he did not know what one could do as a producer.

Born in Dresden in 1924, Herz studied piano and music. In 1951 he started as a producer, and in 1953 he joined the Komische Oper, where he became an assistant to Felsenstein. In 1957 he went to Leipzig. Felsenstein's work methods also became his: thorough philological and historical research, a search for the original and new translations preceded long and extremely detailed rehearsals. If one has seen Herz's Leipzig "Xerxes" one knows how much antifeudal irony there is in Handel's operas, and "Butterfly," "Mahogony" and "Lulu" were model productions.

8790

CSO: 2300

WRITER MATTHIES' EMIGRATION, CRACKDOWN ON LITERARY CIRCLES REPORTED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 35 No 3, 26 Jan 81 pp 81-82

[Unattributed article: "Pain in the Album--the GDR Authorities Stiffen Their Policy Toward Critical Writers, With Surveillance, Arrest or Expulsion"]

[Text] The German writer sarcastically asked his authorities to economize. He could not understand, wrote East Berlin writer, Frank-Wolf Matthies, 29, in an open letter on 9 January, why on him of all people it was "necessary to expend such an enormous amount of money and manpower." He was able to go through his private mail himself and did not need the aid of well-paid civil servants for it.

The appeal remained unheeded. The GDR Ministry for State Security, to whose head, Erich Mielke, the Matthies letter was addressed, even reinforced the personnel on duty in the writer's neighborhood.

"Like cockroaches" the STASI [State Security Service] would come from entrances in the neighborhood when he left his apartment at Lottumstrasse 23 in Prenzlauer Berg in East Berlin to take a walk, Matthies says. Friday the week before last he moved to West Berlin with his family.

With their immense presence, the GDR authorities were trying to prevent what they considered a danger--the poetry readings Matthies had organized in his apartment since 1977. Often, in what Matthies calls "a kind of demonstrative solidarity," an audience of up to 70 would attend these affairs.

Though private literary circles, of which there are dozens in the GDR, were not accepted by the authorities, they were tolerated by them. They serve as a platform primarily for authors who, ostracized by state administrators of literature, do not, as Matthies puts it, wish to "vomit their weltachmerz into the poetry albums of a creed opinion."

Now apparently GDR writers are to be barred even from these few narrow areas of free space. According to Juergen Manthey, reader of the publishing house of Rowohlt, which brings out Matthies' books, "for some months now, the hawks have been having the upper hand again in the processing of East German literature."

When the protest writer Matthies and his fellow author Lutz Rathenow in October 1980 prompted Guenter Grass, invited to attend as a listener, to recite from his works in their circle, the STASI people went into action. A few days after Grass' performance, the two were arrested for questioning and detained for 10 days.

A short time before that, Mielke's shadowers had also grabbed the young poet Thomas Erwin, 19. His publisher, Ernst-Rheinhard Piper of Munich, suspects that one reason for the arrest was a recital by Erwin from his works, scheduled to take place in the Austrian Embassy in East Berlin which had not been expressly authorized.

The latest arrests reveal efforts by the SED strictly to apply article 219 (paragraph 2 subparagraph 2) of the GDR Penal Code, which had previously been applied rather loosely. This string-pulling article introduced in August 1979 threatens GDR citizens with imprisonment of up to 5 years for engaging in any publishing abroad "that is apt to harm GDR interests."

Where the harm lies is difficult to determine. Released in the meantime, Rathenow is still waiting for the indictment and trial. What he was afraid might happen, he had already mentioned in the title of his book published in the FRG by Ullstein in October 1980: "Mit dem Schlimmsten wurde schon gerechnet" [The Worst Was Already Expected To Happen].

Erwin ("Der Tag will morgen bleiben" [The Day Wants To Stay Tomorrow]) is still in prison. His publisher is afraid that through demonstrative harshness the GDR authorities want to prevent the transfer abroad of literary manuscripts, bypassing the state Copyright Office.

Henceforth prose writer Matthies ("Unbewohnter Raum mit Moebeln" [Uninhabited Furnished Room]) will no longer have to smuggle his writings to readers of Western publishing houses. Prominent colleagues of his, such as Christa Wolf, Stefan Hermlin and Franz Fehrmann as well as Western diplomats, having put in a good word for the dissident with the SED leadership, he managed to leave the GDR 16 January, accompanied by his wife, a sister-in-law and three children.

For a half a year, Matthies had drawn an artist's subsidy of 250 East marks, but then he had fallen into disfavor among the state people in charge of literature because of his privately organized authors' recitals. The authorization for him to leave the country came so unexpected that he hardly had time to dissolve his household.

A dozen officials of the Ministry for State Security as far back as last November had hauled books, personal papers, phonograph records and tapes by the case from Matthies' residence.

Their confiscation came too late, however: his manuscript completed before his departure had already been sent by the author in bits and pieces to the FRG.

8790

CSO: 2300

REGULATIONS ON MILITARY REGISTRATION ENACTED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 6, 7 Mar 80, pp 61-64

[Text of DECREE OF THE MINISTERS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS dated 11 February 1980; Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /In the matter of military registration duty and permits for temporary stay abroad and permits for a change of the place of residence by persons subject to military registration duty./

By the authority of Article 49, para 4, of the statute dated 21 November 1967, pertaining to the universal duty to defend the Polish People's Republic (PRL) (DZIENNIK USTAW No 18, 1979, item 111), the following is being decreed:

Chapter 1

/General Regulations/

Para 1.1. The military registration duty rests with persons who are subject to military service duty.

2. The duty to obtain permission for a temporary stay abroad rests with persons specified in regulations as being subject to military service duty, this includes alternate conscription service and the basic service in civil defense.

3. The requirement to obtain a military unit commander's permission for a change of residence rests with soldiers who have been released ahead of schedule from the basic military service with the condition they remain at the disposal of a military unit commander until such time as they are transferred to the reserve.

Para 2.1. The military registration duty includes:

- 1) the general military registration duty;
- 2) The particular military registration duty.

2. The particular military registration duty is fulfilled independently of the general military registration duty.

Chapter 2

/The general military registration duty/

Para 3.1. The following are subject to the general military registration duty:

1) males--beginning from the day of the proclamation of registration of pre-conscripts, in the year in which they complete 18 years of age, until the end of the calendar year in which they complete 50 years of age, those in grades of warrant officers or commissioned officers--60 years of age.

2) females transferred to reserve--beginning on the day which follows the day of the transfer to reserve and until the end of the calendar year in which they complete 40 years of age, those in grades of warrant officers or commissioned officers--50 years of age.

2. Persons described in section 1 above are not subject to the general military registration duty if they:

1) have been declared permanently unfit for military service by reason of their state of health;

2) are serving on active duty,

3) are performing an alternate conscription service while billeted in barracks-quarters or are serving in a basic service in civil defense.

Para 4.1. The general military registration duty consists of:

1) registration of arrival at a place of permanent residence;

2) registration of arrival at a place of temporary residence of over 2 months' duration;

3) registration of an extension of temporary residence of over 2 months' duration;

4) registration of a change of address of a place of permanent residence or a place of temporary residence of over 2 months' duration;

5) registration of departure for a place of permanent residence;

6) registration of departure from a place of temporary residence of over 2 months' duration, if the departure of such place of residence occurs prior to the date reported during registration of arrival;

7) reporting of a departure abroad for a temporary stay of over 2 months' duration;

8) reporting of a return from a temporary stay abroad of over 2 months' duration;

9) reporting of:

a) graduation from a vocational school, intermediate school, post-secondary school or an institution of higher learning;

b) achievement of a skill title given to workers;

c) achievement of professional skills other than those awarded by schools described in subitem a) above.

2. The general military registration duty will be performed as specified below:

1) as in Section 1, items 1-8 above--together with those obligations of registration resulting from the census regulations;

2) as in Section 1, item 9 above--by reporting the changes to the military recruiting office on whose rolls the person subject to the military registration duty is carried.

Para 5.1. Reporting to a basic local office of the state administration organ by persons subject to the general military registration duty of specified changes:

1) those of Para 4, Section 1, item 1-8 above--will be done by depositing in the stated office of a filled out and signed prescribed form, using terms indicated in census regulations, and also by presentation of a military identity document or a certificate of reporting for a preconscription registration;

2) those in Para 4, Section 1, Item 9 above--will be done by presenting in a military recruiting office a document certifying the change in skill qualification or by sending a copy of the document by registered mail--within 14 days of the change.

2. Students and graduates of institutions of higher learning, who were subject to the particular military registration duty, when reporting changes referred to in Para 4, Section 1, items 1-8, will additionally present a callup card to active military service--if the report of changes occurs between the day of receipt of such card and the day of reporting for long-term military retraining.

Chapter 3.

/The particular military registration duty/

Para 6. Persons subject to the particular military registration duty are:

1) reservists who have white mobilization cards or white cards with a red stripe;

2) students and graduates of institutions of higher learning, during the period from the day of assignment (to student category) to the day on which they are called to perform long-term military retraining.

Para 7. The particular military registration duty consists of reporting to an appropriate military recruiting office:

- 1) registration of arrival at a place of permanent residence or a place of temporary residence of over 2 months' duration;
- 2) registration of a change of address for a place of permanent residence or a place of temporary residence of over 2 months' duration;
- 3) registration of departure from a place of permanent residence or a place of temporary residence of over 2 months' duration;
- 4) registration of departure from a place of permanent residence to a place of temporary residence of over 2 months' duration and the return from this temporary residence;
- 5) registration of departure abroad for a temporary stay of over 2 months and the return from such stay.

Para 8.1. The particular military registration duty is performed in person at the military recruiting office, corresponding to the heretofore occupied place of permanent residence or place of temporary residence of over 2 months' duration, by turning in a filled-out form--prior to the accomplishment of the general military registration duty.

2. The reporting of specified changes by persons subject to the particular military registration duty:

- 1) those in Para 7, items 1 and 2--should be reported before 4 days have elapsed since the change occurred;
- 2) those in Para 7, Item 3--should be reported at the latest on the day of registration of departure;
- 3) those in Para 7, items 4 and 5--should be reported at the latest on the day of departure and within 2 days from the day of return.

3. At the time the forms are turned in, the military identity document must also be presented. The military recruiting office will then perform appropriate annotations in cases of a registration of departure from a place of permanent residence, or temporary residence of over 2 months' duration, or when registering an arrival at such residence, when such changes cause a change of recorded enrollment in a military recruiting office.

4. In cases where the recorded changes do not cause a change of recorded enrollment in a military recruiting office, the office to which such changes have been reported will execute a form specified in Section 1, above, indicating the fulfillment of obligation under the particular military registration duty--with the purpose of depositing the form at the local basic state administration organ office corresponding to the new location of registration.

Para 9. To a person who reported in for the purpose of compliance with requirements of the particular military registration duty the military recruiting office will:

- 1) reimburse transportation expenses to the place of registration and return to a place of permanent residence or temporary residence of over 2 months' duration;
- 2) issue, when requested, a certificate which will serve to confirm a valid excuse for absence from work and safeguarding of right to be paid for time lost at their place of employment.

Para 10.1. The particular military registration duty of reservists, referred to in Para 6, Item 1, contains additionally a requirement of notifying the commander of the military unit to which they have received a mobilization allotment, of any departure for a period in excess of 24 hours, from a place of permanent residence or a place of temporary residence of over 2 months' duration--if the commander will recommend to them that such duty be fulfilled.

2. The notification will be performed in a manner designated by the military unit commander.

Chapter 4.

/Obtaining permits for a temporary stay abroad/

Para 11.1. The duty to obtain permission for a temporary stay abroad is being levied upon:

- 1) conscripts who as yet have not been conscripted;
- 2) conscripts who have been destined to perform basic military service, alternate conscription service or basic service in civil defense;
- 3) soldiers discharged from basic military service and conscripts discharged from alternate conscription service or basic civil defense service--without being transferred to the reserve;
- 4) students and graduates of institutions of higher learning:
 - a) called to perform a short-term military retraining;
 - b) designated to perform a long-term military retraining;
- 5) reservists called to perform military exercises;
- 6) reservists called to periodic military service.

2. The obligation to obtain permission for a temporary stay abroad does not pertain to persons listed in Section 1, above who:

- 1) cross the border on the basis of personal documents, for a period of up to 2 months, or passport inserts authorizing a one-time border crossing, border passes issued in small border movements or on the basis of a seaman's card,
- 2) travel abroad in conjunction with the performance of their work in shipping navigation and land or air communications.

3. The regulation stated in Section 2, Item 1, above pertains to soldiers discharged ahead of schedule from basic military service with condition of remaining at the disposal of the military unit commander, with the provision that the temporary stay abroad does not exceed 3 days.

Para 12.1. The obligation to obtain permission for a temporary stay abroad establishes itself:

- 1) for conscripts who as yet have not been conscripted--on the first day of January of the year during which they will complete 19 years of age;
- 2) for conscripts who already have been conscripted and have been designated to perform basic military service, alternate conscription service or basic service in civil defense--on the day of assignment to such service;
- 3) for soldiers discharged from basic military service, conscripts discharged from alternate conscription service or from basic service in civil defense--without being transferred to the reserve--from the day of discharge;
- 4) for students and graduates of institutions of higher learning:
 - a) called to perform short-term military retraining--from the day of delivery of the card calling them to active military duty;
 - b) designated to perform long-term military retraining--from the day of designation for such retraining.
- 5) for reservists called up to perform military exercises or periodic military service--from the day of delivery of the card calling them to active military service.

2. Circumstances described above in Section 1, items 2 and 3 and in Item 4, Subitem a), are recorded by appropriate annotations in the military identity document.

Para 13.1. Permission for a temporary stay abroad, according to prescribed provisions, will be issued:

- 1) for conscripts referred to in Para 11, Section 1, Item 1--by the basic local office of the state administration organ serving their place of permanent residence or of temporary residence of over 2 months' duration;
- 2) for conscripts, soldiers and students (graduates) referred to in Para 11, Section 1, items 2-5--by the military recruiting office commander in whose records the person is registered;
- 3) for soldiers discharged from the basic military service ahead of schedule with the condition of remaining at the disposal of the military unit commander--the commander at whose disposal the soldier was assigned.

2. The appropriate authority may refuse to issue a permit for a temporary stay abroad if during the proposed stay there is scheduled a reporting for conscription, call up to active duty or the start of such duty.

3. For soldiers referred to in Section 1, Item 3, above the military unit commander will issue a permission for a temporary stay abroad only in particular cases.

Para 14. In order to obtain a permit for a temporary stay abroad, interested parties must present themselves, prior to submission of an application for a passport or other document, to an appropriate authority as defined in Para 13, Section 1, with a confirmation of reporting for registration, a military identity document and a callup card, if such documents were issued to them.

Chapter 5

/Obtaining of permits for a change of residence/

Para 15. A soldier discharged from basic military service ahead of schedule with the condition of remaining at the disposal of a military unit commander is required to obtain such commander's permission for a change of residence for a period in excess of 3 days.

Para 16. The military unit commander will issue to the soldier referred to in Para 15 a permission using a standardized form.

Chapter 6

/Functions of local offices of state administration organs/

Para 17.1. The basic local office of the state administration organ to which a person who is subject to military registration duty has reported changes indicated in Para 4, Section 1, items 1-6 will:

1) annotate the personal identity card of a resident or note in the records of persons who have registered arrival for a temporary stay of over 2 months' duration, data relevant to the relationship to military obligation of the person registering their arrival (or registering departure);

2) execute an insert based on registration of arrival or a registration of departure in:

a) military identity document—noting a placement or removal from the records of a military recruiting office;

b) on the document confirming reporting for registration by preconscripts—note data relevant to placement or removal from the records of population at the basic local office of the state administration organ;

3) will forward within 3 days from the time of report of a registration of arrival or a registration of departure, a registration notification on an appropriate form;

a) In case of a preconscrip~~t~~ or a conscript who as yet has not reported for registration and has not been conscripted--to the basic local office of the state administration organ, according to the heretofore and new (registered) place of permanent residence or temporary residence of over 2 months' duration;

b) In case of preconscrip~~t~~ or conscript who have reported for registration but as yet have not been conscripted--to the military recruiting office according to the heretofore (registered) place of permanent residence or temporary residence of over 2 months' duration;

c) In case of person subject to compulsory military service not enumerated in subitems a) or b) above--to the military recruiting office according to the heretofore (registered) place of permanent residence or temporary residence of over 2 months' duration.

2. The insert referred to in Section 1, Item 2 above will not be executed in cases of:

1) registration of arrival or departure by a person who has previously performed the registration duty relative to these changes at the military recruiting office, as a consequence of the particular military registration duty;

2) registration of arrival of a reservist for temporary residence of over 2 months' duration and a subsequent registration of departure from such residence;

3) reporting of registrations of arrival or departure which have no effect on the recorded attachment to a military recruiting office or a basic local office of the state administration organ.

Para 18.1. The local basic office of the state administration organ will confirm, based on the certification of reporting for registration by preconscrip~~t~~ or inserts placed in military identity documents, if the person who is reporting a registration of arrival and who is subject to a military registration duty has:

1) reported for registration of preconscrip~~t~~ or reported for conscription, if the reporting of a change of residence has occurred during the period between the starting day and the day of completion of the registration or conscription;

2) reported a registration of departure as required by the general military registration duty;

3) reported a registration of arrival or departure as required by the particular military registration duty.

2. The office referred to in Section 1, above will also confirm if a soldier who was discharged from basic military service ahead of schedule with a condition of remaining at the disposal of the military unit commander, and who is reporting a registration of arrival or departure, has obtained permission for a change of residence.

3. In case of a failure to comply with duties described in sections 1 and 2 above, the basic local office of the state administration organ will counsel the interested parties of the necessity of a prior completion of these duties, which are a prerequisite to acceptance of reports of registrations of arrival or departure for permanent residence or a temporary residence of over 2 months' duration, and will inform the appropriate organ about the failure.

Para 19. The basic local office of the state administration organ to which a person who is subject to the general military registration duty has reported a departure abroad for a temporary stay of over 2 months' duration, and a return from such stay, will transmit to the appropriate military recruiting office a registration notification.

Para 20. The basic local office of the state administration organ will, within 3 days, inform the appropriate offices and military recruiting offices which are referred to in Para 17, Section 1, Item 3, concerning a change of a given name, last name or regarding a death of a person subject to the general military registration duty.

Chapter 7

/Summary regulations/

Para 21. This regulation supersedes the regulation of the Ministers of National Defense and Internal Affairs dated 11 November 1974, pertaining to military registration duty and obtaining of permits for a temporary stay abroad by persons subject to such duty (DZIENNIK USTAW No 46, Item 276).

Para 22. This regulation becomes effective on the day of publication.

W. Jaruzelski, Minister of National Defense

S. Kowalewski, Minister of Internal Affairs

9511

CSO: 2600

'THE POST'S' MACIEREWICZ TELLS FARMER ORGANIZATION GOALS

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 14 Jan 81 p 9

[Article by Vibeke Sperling]

[Text] "It is not because the farmers are taking advantage of a fashionable trend that they are now demanding trade unions," Adam Macierewicz, representative of the Polish farmers, tells INFORMATION. He goes on to say: "Polish farmers have been staging strikes or carrying through other actions for years because they traditionally are a group that is being discriminated against. The authorities have changed their attitude toward the farmers, but there is still a long way to go. The issue at present is the fundamental issue of getting the work as a farmer recognized as a trade with the same rights to form trade unions as the working class."

Adam Macierewicz is no typical Polish farmer. He was educated at the agricultural college and farms his own small farm of 8 hectares [approximately 20 acres]. "I have applied for another 8 hectares from the state. I have got the same problem as numerous others. We simply do not have enough land for farming to pay," says Macierewicz, who is active in the organization of the new trade union which since last August has been in close touch with the workers' trade union "Solidarnosc" (Solidarity). But, as Macierewicz points out, this is not a new movement among the farmers. The new trade union movement originates in the defense committees of the farmers "Placowka" (The Post), the name of which refers to the struggle of Polish farmers against Germanization.

Contact with Walesa

"We have had talks with Walesa and other leaders of "Solidarnosc" from the start of their struggle," says Macierewicz, who points out that both workers and farmers have been taking the advice of advisers and been keeping "the problem of the farmers somewhat in the background" until the recognition of the trade union of the workers had been secured. "However, in the main, we are working in the same direction as Walesa's "Solidarnosc" and, already at a joint meeting on 21 August, it was clear that we would also be forming regular trade unions and would be supported by the workers in our efforts.

It is not so that we shall be taking over the experiences of the workers. Polish farmers have a solid background in struggle. We have often carried through actions involving stoppages of supplies in connection with our demands; we have had many illegal periodicals and newspapers and have, in many locations, had so-called people's universities. These universities are parallel to the so-called "floating universities," but the people's universities deal with the problems of the farmers themselves."

The first big congress of farmers was held on 14 December. At the time, 600,000 farmers and agricultural laborers were associated with the new trade union, "but we now expect our membership to be around 1 million," Macierewicz says. He adds that the formation of the trade union does not proceed without problems. "There is, for example, disagreement as to whether independent farmers and farmers employed by the state should be organized within the same trade union."

As of early August, two trade unions were thus formed. One of them, "the trade union of farmers," does not make a distinction between independent farmers and farmers employed by the state, whereas the other one, "the trade union of peasants," wanted to safeguard the special problems of the independent farmers.

At the congress in December, it was agreed, however, to work jointly toward the legal recognition of all categories of agricultural workers' right to form trade unions. "We can always split up later on," Macierewicz says. He is an independent farmer but supports the unity trade union movement. He does this in order for the authorities not to be provided with an excuse for stamping the movement as a political movement. "In the thirties, the poor peasants of Poland constituted a decisive political power with effective organizations. The Polish communists are afraid of this historic power. The authorities must not be given any pretext for evading the issue by denouncing us as a political movement. In our struggle, we, therefore, must concentrate on the broad trade union structures."

"But the situation of the independent farmers is, of course, very different from that of farmers employed on state farms?"

"Yes, but we must first get organized. Later on, we can choose different organizational forms. But, in that context, it is not only the distinction between independent and state farmers which is relevant. There are enormously big regional and cultural differences. It appeared clearly from the congress in December that the farmers' movement wants to take the existing differences very seriously and demands that the authorities do the same thing."

Negotiator Positive

In answer to the question what was stressed most at the congress, Macierewicz says: "That the authorities be pressured to recognize the present state of affairs. A total of 75 percent of the farmers are independent farmers. This is a reality which it would be disastrous to disregard."

Macierewicz points out that the adviser of the Ministry of Agriculture, Siemion, stated at the congress that he would "welcome the proposal for reorganization of the Polish agricultural sector" from the farmers. Siemion is the farmers' negotiating link to the government. Macierewicz, however, is not convinced that this positive attitude is shared by all circles within the ruling Polish party. "However, we must reject the ready-made proposals with which the government has presented us so far. In answer to our most important demands, many will repeat the demand for "machine pools." The farmers, however, know these best for their inefficiency. Without a dialogue with the farmers, it is not possible to find a solution to the problems of agriculture."

Myth of Independent Farmer

The statements made by this representative of the new Polish farmers' organization are formulated with great care. "For we are not least fighting the myth of the independent farmer as the saboteur. People must understand that it is not the legal ownership that is decisive. Our situation reflects the problems of agriculture in Eastern Europe. The state policy has made the farmers a disliked class of society. The prevailing policy has been aiming at extinguishing this class of society by letting the land lie fallow in many places and refusing the farmers access to machines. They have given the farmers such small lots of land that they have not been able to support themselves by it--and we must, of course, bear in mind that the policy of parcelling out the land, i.e. distributing very small pieces of land to everybody, was the policy of the Polish party itself right after its seizure of power. Where farmers have given up, they have not even been given access to the towns. Most towns have been closed to access because of the system according to which one must have employment in order to get a place in which to live, and one must have a place in which to live as well as residency in order to get work. The farmers have felt condemned to physical extinction."

The policy pursued by the state has, traditionally, also discriminated against the great majority of the farmers in another respect. "The state funds have primarily been channelled to state farms. At the same time, the government has been forcing independent farmers to hand over products just in order for them to get fuel or other necessities of life. In a primitive feudal manner, they have often been demanded to hand over certain products which they have only with great difficulty been able to produce. One could go on indefinitely, enumerating examples of the disastrous effects on agriculture of the Polish policy of forced industrialization. In practice, the farmers have been treated as third-rate citizens. Off and on, promises have been made of improvements when the supply situation in the towns looked dark. But the government has with lightening speed reversed itself afterwards. It was like that under Gomulka, and it was the same thing under Gierik."

"The farmers have been kept from having any form of influence whatsoever. They have been paying taxes in kind as well as money, but till recently they did not have any social rights. They had to pay for medical aid themselves and were compelled to bring many children into the world in order to secure their old age. In many places, the farmers have never heard of things like nursery schools, holiday camps for children, etc. They have seen small schools being closed down in their villages. The authorities have sought to arrange their affairs purely through administrative means. Is it so strange that we are now demanding trade unions?"

"Some of the things have, apparently, been corrected. About 12 months ago, a national pension scheme was introduced for independent farmers?"

"That is true, but it has also brought in its train much unhappiness because the national pension legislation was expedited at an enormously hasty rate. It is a question of a contributory pension scheme for the farmers. It is a question of a very severe extra taxation. In order to obtain this pension, the farmers have to surrender their land to the state, and most of them are thereby forced into old people's homes. We are not against the contributory pension scheme, but it is an enormously rash legislation and it hits many unreasonably hard."

Macierewicz states that he himself pays 15,000 zlotys by way of general income tax. The average earnings in Poland are around 3,500 zlotys per month. "If I would have to pay contributory pension tax right away, this would mean the same amount on top of it. An incredible shortcoming of the law is that it does not take into consideration the quality of the land or special local conditions. The farmers' contributory pension is calculated simply on the basis of area."

Below Subsistence Level

Macierewicz, however, is exempt from paying contributory pension tax for a transitional period of 5 years. But it is only farmers under 35 years of age who have this transitional arrangement before the contributory pension scheme takes effect. He goes on to say that the pension, "in most cases, becomes ridiculously small. The maximum amount of pension is 6,000 zlotys per month per farm. Pensions are not paid per person. The maximum amount can only be paid to farms which have provided the state with products to a value of at least 1 million zlotys per year. And that is in practice impossible for the small farms which the majority of the independent farmers have," Macierewicz says.

The farmers are, however, secured a minimum amount of 1,600 zlotys per farm per month. Officially, the Polish authorities, however, work with a subsistence level of between 2,000 and 2,500 zlotys per month per individual, and the minimum wage of a workers has been fixed at 2,200 zlotys."

"The pension law thus openly works with the principle that many farmers must continue to live below the acknowledged subsistence level. And it is clearly children in big peasant families who are hit the hardest." Macierewicz says, however, that the very existence of a legislation which takes into consideration the old age of farmers is a step forward, "but it is a rash mess in which nobody has any real confidence. The farmers also ask themselves what will happen to their land when they grow old and will be forced to surrender it to the state in order to receive any pension payments at all. The present plans are that the land will be leased but will remain the property of the state. What this means, nobody has taken the trouble to tell the farmers."

Legal Recognition

On the prospects of a legal recognition of the trade union of the farmers, which also uses the name of Solidarity, Macierewicz says: "The most important thing

that has happened so far is that the trade union is a reality. The authorities may try a conspiracy of silence against us, but the work is going on in most places in the country." He goes on to say that the farmers are subject to various forms of malice in an attempt to halt the movement. House arrests and lenient arrests take place to keep the impression that what is going on is criminal.

The union representatives of the farmers are, moreover, not able to express themselves through the media. "The censorship maintains the prohibition against mentioning our trade union. It simply is not allowed to exist. If journalists should mention our trade union, their remarks will be deleted by the censorship. We have often asked journalists why they mention the government's proposal of machine pools, etc., when they do not mention the very complex of problems," says Adam Macierewicz, who is visiting Denmark to spread the knowledge of the trade union movement of Polish farmers and to investigate the possibilities of support for the movement.

As for the immediate demands of the trade union movement, Macierewicz says: "We have got to and must be recognized as a direct partner in negotiations if the Polish agricultural problems are to be solved. The government has, in reality, no coherent policy in that area and will only be able to get it if it really makes possible a dialogue with the peasants. We can present a number of demands and proposals which can contribute to restoring the infrastructure in the country. The way things are now, Polish agriculture in many places is reminiscent of ethnographical reserves, which may be quite nice to look at for tourists, but they are conditions which one cannot offer human beings. We must have access to roads, machines, schools for our children, etc."

Renegotiate Laws

"We must renegotiate the pension law and the other scanty and rash legislation which the beginning change in the attitude toward the farmers has brought in its train. We must be openly recognized as a trade and as citizens on a line with all other citizens."

"Is there a basis for cooperation between the Polish United Workers' Party and the farmers?"

"We have stopped thinking about the party. We could not care less. We have got party members in our ranks, but as an organization we expect nothing from the party. It has always been like that. It is possible to kick the party a bit, and it then yields a bit, but as you know, it has got no agricultural policy. However, we are not aiming at a confrontation. We support the process of democratization to which the party itself has agreed. But we demand being an active part of it. We naturally also understand that the signals, after all, change. Some years ago, it was a party line that the farmers were to be butchered. Those who might wish it, at least no longer say so."

"What are your evaluations of the possibility of an early recognition?"

"We evaluate it positively and, in this connection, take our stand on the Helsinki accords which, as is well-known, clearly treat agriculture as a trade and the position of a farmer as a social position. But the most important thing is that we exist and no longer can be halted, and the authorities know this despite all their attempts at delay and intimidation. In the last instance, it is, of course, also a question of the very basis of the Polish People's Republic. It is said to be a state of workers and farmers. We can no longer put up with a marriage on a false basis," Adam Macierewicz concludes.

BRIEFS

HUNTING PARTY--Bucharest, 14 Feb (AGERPRES)--A hunting party was organized on Saturday, February 14, on behalf of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu for the heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Bucharest. Participating were Iosif Banc, Gheorghe Oprea, Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Heads of diplomatic missions and charges d'affaires ad interim accredited to Romania took part in the hunting party. [Text] [AU141932 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 14 Feb 81]

AGREEMENT WITH JOURNALISTS' UNIONS--A cooperation protocol for the 1981-85 period was signed in Moscow between the Council of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR Union of Journalists. [Text] [AU181332 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Feb 81 p 4]

CSO: 2700

NOVELIST, MEMOIRIST SELIMOVIC INTERVIEWED ON ATTITUDES

Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jan 81 pp 12-13

[Interview with Mesa Selimovic by Dusan Stankovic: "One's Debt to One's Time"]

[Text] A great writer and member of the academy, the author of "Tisina" [Silences], "Dervis i Smrt" [The Dervish and Death], "Tvrdjava" [Fortress], and "Ostrvo" [Island], has not uttered a word for the press in more than 5 years. OMLADINSKE NOVINE asked him for an interview: he decided to break his silence.

[Question] When a great writer, who is also a member of the academy, "does not utter a single word for the press" for more than 5 years, that is reason enough for us to wonder why he maintains this silence? The questions were, of course, put to Mesa Selimovic, who consented to answer them though he has been bedridden with a serious illness for a long time now.

[Answer] When an illness like mine confines one to his bed, one reflects a great deal (Mesa Selimovic said at the outset of the interview). I am pained a great deal by how very little it seems to me I have written, but that is the way things were. I still think, better to say dream, about many subjects, contemporary subjects especially. There are those who think that I have already made a fair contribution, but I am not satisfied with that. It was not just the war, but also other subsequent obligations which had to do with my late start as a writer.

[Question] I hope your illness does not prevent you from going beyond reflection to give shape to a new literary work.

[Answer] I did begin to write a new novel quite some time ago, but I have not finished it, nor am I certain when I will finish it. It is a book with the working title "Krug" [Circle]. It is a story from contemporary life. It is something I owe to my time. The difficulties are great, since my self-censorship is always vigilant. It is not a fear of anyone's condemnation, but my inner desire to avoid all pamphleteering and any excessively harsh judgments in what I write. My basic idea is this: Can the fighters who survive feel the same elan in peacetime as they did in wartime? And the same inner purity? The elan of our revolution was unique and pure, without the deposits and blemishes which life brings. The enthusiasm and the innocence that lay behind that determination are possible only once in a

lifetime. I know, after all, that good and evil is always there in men, and that one should not expect the impossible of them. But that impossible thing did occur once, what couldn't happen did happen. Thus I fight against my own pure sentiments out of a desire to put everything in proper proportion and to achieve plausibility, and I see that the job is not easy at all.

Unpublished "Will"

[Question] Many people resented your speaking sincerely about everything in "Sjecanja" [Memoirs]. Did you really say everything in them?

[Answer] There were many things I did not say in "Sjecanja." They have been written, but have not been published. Moreover, it is interesting to see what happened to certain people who lost the ethics we were all against, but did not acquire another ethics. And when I achieved success as a writer, I began to get in the way of some people. I do not know why. Among the many things which have happened to me, some have been fateful and tragic. I have felt an obligation to my dead to speak the truth. These are my confessions, I would call them my will. And my will, the real one, I have also written, but it awaits my death, the "relevant moment" to be published.

[Question] Between your first novel--"Tisine"--and your last--"Ostrvo"--a quarter of a century passed. In that time you wrote "Dervis i Smrt" and "Tvrdjava," which brought you world fame. Does that mean that you need more time for actual writing?

[Answer] By and large I wrote all nine of my books which have been published in various editions by Sloboda and Otokar Kersovani in the series "Collected Works" in a short time span of 15 years. I worked on "Tisine" the longest, about 5 years, and perhaps even longer, since I was wrestling with the novel's intractable subject matter, style, characters and structure. Before "Tisine" I had written only short stories, so that on the average I needed 3 years per book. Like every average, this one is arbitrary, since I wrote some books faster and some more slowly. I spent the most time on the stories and on the novel "Tisine," and the least on "Dervis i Smrt" and "Tvrdjava." I wrote "Dervis ..." in 3 years, and "Tvrdjava" in about 2.

[Question] Yet you had been carrying "Dervis ..." in yourself for a long time...

[Answer] That was intensive work, every day, or actually every night, sometimes even 12 hours a night. But it was not painful, and it was not difficult for me, since I had been carrying "Dervis ..." within myself for all of two decades, and nearly every detail in it had been previously touched upon in my thoughts in some fashion or another, and at the same time I was involuntarily thinking about "Tvrdjava" as well. But I did spend a great amount of intellectual and emotional energy on those principal works of mine, and I felt quite tired afterward. A writer lives the novel which he is writing and long after he finishes it, he thinks the thoughts [of his characters]. Recently I learned that one of our writers who spent several years writing about the dying of many people began to suffer from fear of death after finishing the book. After "Dervis ..." and "Tvrdjava" I suffered from depression and stayed away from people--I had begun to fear them. The

book we are writing and the characters we are creating acquire an unexpected power over us, and that is one of the evils of the strange work we do.

Fear of Death

[Question] Is it dangerous, then, to write such books?

[Answer] I became seriously ill in 1971 and I thought that I would not be able to write anymore. That encounter with death filled me not with fear, but with sadness because of the books not written. I therefore took advantage of my recovery to write "Ostrvo," a proud book after the experience I had had. I wrote it very quickly, in one summer, mainly while convalescing in Sokobanjo, and I had more difficulty getting it printed than writing it. It all dragged on for months, the readers' opinions contained harsh and grave political verdicts, until at length I withdrew the manuscript and gave it to Prosveta, which printed the book without any objection.

[Question] It is said that though your action is set in a "time not ours" your books are very contemporary, that they are books of our--or better, any--time....

[Answer] It is only our time and only my own contemporaries I am familiar with. Whatever I have written about, I have written about their thoughts and feelings, and I could not do otherwise, nor does anything else interest me. I have already written on several occasions that I deeply believe that people do not change in their existential and essential characteristics over the centuries: their love, hatred, jealousy, envy, the desire for power and prestige, which is more important even than the instinct for survival, remain the same. It is only social relations which change, but not so essentially and definitively that the picture of the individual is unrecognizable whatever the period. How well do we identify with the literature of an earlier time--there always remains in a man sufficient immutable features so that a man of any period can be identified with.

[Question] Why, then, did you go back to the past to express your thought about your contemporaries?

[Answer] Simply so that I would be able to move about more easily, so that I would not offend the great sensitivity of my contemporaries, so that I would not burn myself on the hot porridge of ongoing life. What was important to me was the particular idea I wanted to express.

[Question] What idea was that?

[Answer] A general and, I would say, universal idea, one that is valid for yesterday, today, and probably for tomorrow as well. One might get the idea from what I have said that I am carried away with the idea that my books will survive even in the future, which would be a pure illusion, since in literature style and language, the pace of the narrative, and structure change rather rapidly, and a literary work becomes outdated rather quickly, possibly joining the cultural tradition and boring classes in school. Works of genius are an exception: "Gorski Vijenac" [Mountain Wreath], for example, to which this rule does not apply.

Power--More Important Than Life

[Question] Is the power over people and the power vested in people the principal topic and preoccupation of your writing?

[Answer] Life experience more frequently than meditation influences what will be the preoccupation and most frequently recurring theme of a writer's work. My experience has imposed on my attention domination and power as the most difficult, most frequent and overwhelming human characteristic. Even without Nietzsche, of whom I have an extremely high opinion, I arrived at the conviction that the desire to display personal power and prestige is more important and decisive than even certain human instincts. Personal power is a source of power over people, and often a source of many privileges as well, but that is less important than prestige. I know people who are mortally ill and who have been ordered by their doctors, yet they have sacrificed health and life in order to stay in power.

I have often said of power that it is "more important than life," making a reference to the title of a Polish television series. Power makes tyrants of those who wield it, aggressive and unscrupulous people who are insensitive to the troubles of others, who are blind to the real problems of life, who look cynically upon grievances and complaints, and who are self-assured because they can in fact do a great deal, especially if the circumstances and relations allow them. In this case one also gets countless paltrons, who serve as their army. The honest and open person who respects his honest thought and true values is usually the victim, the victim most frequently of the paltron rather than of the people in power. The paltrons are the trash of any particular period, and all the evils of that world grow on that trash....

[Question] And the man who loses his power?

[Answer] The man who is stepping down from power by misfortune or his own error, though he is very wary of those more powerful than himself, is the most miserable creature in the world. Usually he does not reconcile himself to his position out of power, and he becomes a person who wails and begs. Unsuccessful in this, he becomes a fierce critic and indeed an enemy of the system to which he swore his loyalty. I would like to write a novel about a man who has stepped down from power and thus lost his *raison d'être*, becoming an enemy of all people, which in fact he already was. This is the deepest human fall which one can imagine. That is why I am enthusiastic about self-management, which is becoming more and more the power of all the working people and heralds the end of any sort of personal power, which is a source of evil, injustice, fear, and all that is worst from prehistory right on down.

A Meaning in Love

[Question] Man is always guilty of something is the message of your "Tvrđjava," and that of "Derviš i Smrt" that "every man is a loner." Do you share the opinion expressed by many of the world's great minds that all true art, and therefore all true literature, must contain a pessimistic note?

[Answer] The saying given in "Dervin . . ." -- "every man is a loser" -- is actually an abbreviated version of a sentence from the Koran, one part of which was omitted: "unless he finds a meaning in God." As an atheist I eliminated that part about God, but it was replaced by the meaning and context of the novel in which all the characters long for closeness as human beings and love. Thus my true thought would be: "Every man is a loser unless he finds a meaning in love."

[Question] There is no pessimism, then, if there is love?

[Answer] Every book is a disagreement between reality and the writer's ideals. The wider that gap, the greater the suffering. And in everything really good in this "best of all worlds," as Voltaire put it? Pessimism is a lamentation because of evil in the world and a sad longing for the good. To be an optimist in this world, in which there is so much misfortune, would be to scorn the facts and the world's experience. After humanity's 20 centuries in which optimism and pessimism have alternated, after so many hopes and good wishes, in the end we got Hitler and the horrifying concentration camps. It was said long ago: "Pessimism is the fruit of a good man's bitter experience...."

Art Does Not Suffer Compromise

[Question] Can art be a reflection of everyday life, not to mention day-to-day politics, and dare it be?

[Answer] What goes on in everyday politics may be overwhelming for literature and for the writer. On 15 May 1975 Mladen Oljaca published an article entitled "Literature and Revolution" in PROSVETNI LIST [EDUCATIONAL NEWSPAPER] in Sarajevo, where he had this to say: Skender wrote his poem "Stojanka, Mother From Knežepolje" and recited it to us while we stood in formation on Palež Mountain. It was a call to arms, it was an appeal.

After the war that same Skender tried as a poet to remain an artist and to serve his party.... The party was creating the labor cooperatives, at about the time that Stalin was criticizing us, saying that the kulaks were getting strong in Yugoslavia, that there was no socialism and no socialist policy in rural areas; and our party decided that overnight it would also create those labor cooperatives -- kolkhozes. This happened in 1949 and 1950. Comrade Kardelj gave a speech at a party plenum on setting up the labor cooperatives -- he called them the rural form of socialism, and he more or less expected that it would be the dominant form of rural relations. The peasant was to join voluntarily, and the result would be virtually milk and honey....

Skender was at that point trying to promote and strengthen cooperatives in the novel he was writing. He wrote a 400-page novel, of which he published 80 pages. How much sweat, how much trouble, how much drudgery, how much struggle and upheaval, how many convolutions in resolving the knotty problems. He wrote a study entitled "On the Knot." He strengthened the labor cooperatives, 3 years went by, the novel was done. Srpska Književna Zadruga [Serbian Literature Cooperative] announced in its publication that it would publish it and advertised this novel about cooperatives, and at that moment Comrade Kardelj dissolved the cooperatives....

The party decided at that point to dissolve them since they had not shown that they could survive under our conditions, since they were someone else's copy which we did not want to apply. The peasants left the labor cooperatives, some were even overwhelmed with joy at the fact, but Skender was at that moment urging them to enter the cooperative. So what could be done with that novel except to discard it? Which is what he did. Later Skender left a message for Oljaca: "Make no compromise as an artist with day-to-day policy, that is what did me in."

[Question] And what role do you attribute to literature in society yesterday, today and tomorrow?

[Answer] The problem of literature's role and function is as old as literature itself. Even Plato and Aristotle posed the questions of whether literature portrayed reality or its possibility, and they have been repeated down through history to this very day. I think that its basic source is reality, but a broader reality than the manifested world, a reality enriched with things from the subconscious, and its role is to create a new picture of life through the imagination by reshaping the real world. The freedom of art imposes upon the artist a commitment which presupposes that the work of art have artistic, intellectual, cognitive and moral meaning, since writing, however much freedom there might be, is not something without its obligations. Literature's task is to influence the reader and society, to make them better and more noble, to raise them to a higher level. Literature does this above all through its means of expression whereby it acts first on the emotions and suggests identification with the work. An empty and superficial book that accepts no responsibilities hardly has the right to exist. A work which is about life and which carries an idea which can influence the reader's spirit or can ennoble him with its esthetic characteristics, that is the ideal of a book for the maximum number of people, which means that it should also be a book of all men, a universal book.

Revolution--A Test of Conscience

[Question] To what extent have motives in your personal life, past events and your immediate surroundings inspired and encouraged you to write?

[Answer] It is futile, unnecessary and in poor taste to speak about events in [a writer's] personal life which served as the basis for a literary work. A bit was taken from my personal life, and yet everything I have written is my personal experience: so, nothing is autobiographical, and everything is autobiographical, especially if I take into account not only what I have myself experienced but also what I have drawn from the subconscious as a metapsychological source. There is a great deal of that, especially in my later works, and I would almost say that it is by that ability to identify with characters we have not met and on the basis of our own hidden thoughts and feelings that we can appraise the value of a literary work and its ability to penetrate the human soul. Of course, experience, life itself, my own and that of others, above all my own and then everyone's, is the most important stimulus for writing.

[Question] You announced on one occasion: "Had I not joined the revolution and had I not opposed the war criminals, I would never have been able to respect myself

thereafter." What does it actually mean for a writer to be committed to humanism?

[Answer] The year 1941 was a test of conscience. The question of commitment to the revolution was a question of my entire outlook on life as well as a question of morality and humanity. Had I not done what I did, I truly would not have been able to respect myself, since I would have separated myself from the people and its basic aspirations.

[Question] Why have you often sought inspiration in old Bosnian books such as the famous "Ljetopis Mula Mustafe Beseskije" [Chronicle of the Mullah Mustafa Beseskija] or even in certain other events?

[Answer] Mullah Mustafe Beseskija noted down in his famous 18th century chronicle of Sarajevo the everyday events in the city on the Miljacka, events that were as vital and ordinary as they were close to our everyday conceptions, so that I was astounded at his "contemporaneity." I thought that he would be a very eloquent and picturesque figure of a good man sunburned in the primeval forest of evil and good, a man who has understanding for both. So I in fact started the novel with Mullah Mustafa's first-person narrative, but then the character Ahmed Sabo, unresourceful and impassive imposed itself on me, a good, unmalicious and ordinary man, without any sort of marked abilities, a man condemned to amazement in a rather soulless world. Thus Sabo became the principal hero, and Mustafa a secondary and episodic character. I took some of the picturesque events and characters from the Chronicle, though I stylized them, since it has an excessively exotic effect, but most of it I imagined, though those remained who have the greatest relevancy, as though they were an allusion to our time, but actually they are not, but life repeats itself.

I Don't Believe Processes

[Question] Who has influenced you, which of our own and foreign writers do you esteem most?

[Answer] I cannot say that anyone has influenced me, though in the huge literature I have read there must exist certain influences, but I am not conscious of them. In one's life a man absorbs so much by observation and reading, and then he reworks it, creating new forms and wholes, that he no longer knows what is his and what someone else's. I know that my favorite writers in foreign literatures are Dostoyevskiy and Thomas Wolfe, and Milos Crnjanski from our own. But none of them could have had an influence on me, since the power of Dostoyevskiy and Wolfe lies in the intensity of experience and that of Crnjanski in portrayal of atmosphere, and all three are so inimitable that they cannot be followed without obvious detriment to originality.

[Question] How do you see our literature in comparison with world literature, and why don't we have good novels treating contemporary subject matter?

[Answer] We have a very highly developed and good literature today. There are a number of exceptional writers who are not lagging behind those who are well known in the world. We can take especially great satisfaction in observing that there

are many talented young writers who will raise our literature to a higher level. As to novels treating contemporary subjects, probably some thought should be given to distance in time, to the complexity and dynamic nature of our development, to the sensitivity of our contemporaries, whenever there is reference to our time.

[Question] What do you think about the theories of certain Western philosophers and theoreticians of literature that contemporary art and indeed our civilization are dying?

[Answer] I do not believe in doomsday prophecies, there have been too many of them in history, and they have not been borne out. Perhaps the conception of literature will change, that is, indeed, even probable, but I do not see what radical changes might occur for everything today to be condemned to death....

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